1

UNDERSTANDING COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Unit Structure

A. NATURE AND SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Political science has been one of the oldest disciplines known by this name in Western Europe since ancient Greek and Roman times. The etymology of political science in Western Europe comes from the ancient Greek city-state of Polis . In other words, it developed as a discipline for public life in polis. However, since it is an academic discipline with a long history, its academic character and method are extremely mixed, and its establishment as an academic discipline in a strict sense belongs to a relatively recent one. This is why political science is said to be the oldest and newest discipline.

A subdivision of political science that captures the politics of each country in the process of interaction with various social, economic, cultural, and international conditions . Comparative Politics came into the limelight only after the colonies of the Western European powers appeared in international politics as emerging independent nations. In other words, in the face of the emergence of research areas that are different from the Western categories, Western political scientists have had to re-examine their own sense of values and thinking frameworks. As a

result, various conceptual frameworks such as advanced and underdeveloped Western democracy and non-Western incomplete democracy, which had been the obvious criteria until then, came to be regarded as problems. In this way, comparative politics has seen rapid development, with political system theory and structural function theory as the central analytical tools.

1.0.2 Definition, Meaning, Nature and Scope of Comparative Politics:

The term 'comparative politics' is of recent origin and came into fashion in the fifties of the present century and is revealing of the expanding horizon of political science. The political scientists made a bid to study the political reality through a new techniques and approaches. The old concepts were also seen in new light. One of the main causes which encouraged the development of new approach for the study of politics was unhappiness with the traditional descriptive approach to the subject. The scholars laid greater emphasis on informal political process rather than political institutions and state. They borrowed a number of ideas and concepts from other social sciences and provided the political studies a new empirical orientation. Before we proceed further to draw a distinction between comparative government and comparative politics, it shall be desirable to define comparative politics.

According to Freeman "Comparative politics is comparative analysis of the various forms of government and diverse political institutions." Braibante says comparative politics is "identification and interpretation of factors in the whole social order which appears to affect whatever political functions and their institutions which have been identified and listed for comparison". According to M. G. Smith, 'Comparative politics is the study of the forms of political organizations, their properties, correlations, variations and modes of change'. According to M. Curtis, 'Comparative politics is concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and political behavior.' According to Roy C. Macridis and Robert Ward, 'Government is not the sole concern of students of comparative politics.' Comparative politics, no doubt, has to be concerned with the government structure but at the same time it has to take note of the following:

- Society, historical heritage and geographic and resource endowed
- Its social and economic organizations
- Its ideologies and value systems
- Its political style
- Its parties, interests, and leadership structure

All these definitions provide a basis for the study of comparative governments in its contemporary term. It involves a comparative study of the institutional and mechanistic arrangements along with the empirical and scientific analysis of non-institutionalized and non-political determinants of political behavior.

Gabriel Almond, a prominent comparative politician, introduced political system theory based on structural functional analysis into comparative politics and contributed greatly to the development of this field. In his analytical scheme, he assumes that basic political functions are carried out in any society, and compares them from the perspective of what kind of structure they are responsible for. Even in a primitive society, as in a democracy, functions such as social integration and value distribution are performed, but the functions are not differentiated or one structure performs multiple functions. Or, the method of execution is not institutionalized. Therefore, we focus on both sides of function and structure and make a substantive comparison.

Comparative politics today aims to analyze the essence of political phenomena by a method called comparison and to construct a universal theory. For political science, which, like other social sciences, does not have a laboratory, comparisons are a valuable tool for identifying the factors of a phenomenon.

Comparisons include both temporal (historical) and spatial comparisons. Although the perspective of comparison has been around for a long time, comparative studies up to the first half of the 20th century provided a descriptive understanding of the political systems of other countries from an institutional perspective. In other words, the conventional research was to adopt a system that seems to be more democratic as a model, or to insist that it should be adopted, and it had a strong color of comparative political system theory.

The world leading up to World War II is formed with international relations by countries, which has been limited to even the Western countries studies. However, since the emerging nations have appeared on the international stage after the war, the emerging nations that have become a non-negligible presence in the international community have inevitably become the subject of research. In particular, in the United States during the Cold War, analysis of emerging-market societies became an important national policy issue in order to maintain and expand its own camp. However, traditional institutional approaches have not been able to deal with societies that are completely different from Western societies. Therefore, an analytical framework that is not bound by the system was needed, and the form of comparative politics was put in place, breaking away from the theory of comparative politics. Because of this development process, comparative politics initially had the meaning of political modernization theory and development theory, but after that, a tendency to respect the uniqueness of each society was born, and the direction of comparative politics also changed. Currently, it is considered as an opportunity for verification to refine political theory, and it is integrated with political science itself rather than having a unique field of comparative politics.

1.0.3 Distinction between Comparative Government and Comparative Politics:

Scholars have tended to use the terms 'comparative government' and 'comparative politics' for each other without realizing the difference between the two. For example Prof. S. E. Finer does not consider the two as different when he argues that "politics is neither the same thing as government nor is it necessarily connected only with those great territorial associations which have a government and which are known as 'State' for if we use government in the sense of 'governance' or the 'activity of governing' we shall find that government exists at different levels. For the vastest area of human conduct and activity in society proceeds quite unregulated by the public authorities. It forms a coherent set of patterns and regulates itself. The second chief mode by which society forms its own patterns and regulates itself is the process of so-called 'socialization' of the individual, with which is associated the concept of 'social control' Most societies in the modern world, however, are equipped with governments.

However, Edward Freeman is conscious of the fact that these two terms are not identical and tries to draw a distinction between them.

1.0.4 The main differences between 'Comparative Politics' and 'Comparative Government' are as follows:

1. Firstly, while comparative government is concerned with the study of formal political institutions like legislature, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy alone in comparative politics the other factors which influence the working of the political institutions are taken into account. In other words 'comparative politics' makes a study of the formal as well as informal political institutions. This point has been summed up by a scholar thus: "The scope of comparative politics is wider than that of comparative government despite search for making comparisons which is central to the study of both. The concern of a student of comparative politics does not end with the study of rulemaking, rule implementation and rule adjudicating organs of various political systems or even with that study of some extra constitutional agencies (like political and pressure groups) having their immediate connection, visible or invisible with the departments of state activity. In addition to all this, he goes ahead to deal with...even those subjects hitherto considered as falling within the range of Economics, Sociology and Anthropology"

2. Secondly, comparative government was chiefly confined to the study of the political institutions of western democratic countries. On the other hand comparative politics concentrates on the study of political institutions of all the countries of the world. It has laid special emphasis on the study of political institutions of the states which have emerged in the twentieth century.

3. Thirdly, comparative government involves only descriptive study of the political institutions and makes only formal study of the political institutions provided by the constitution. On the other hand comparative politics concentrates on analytical study of the various political institutions. Investigation and experimentation constitute prominent features of comparative politics.

4. Finally, comparative government concerns itself only with the political activities of the political institutions, while comparative politics also takes into account the economic, cultural and social factors. In other words it tries to examine the political institutions through interdisciplinary approach

Conclusion:
Comparative politics makes relationships and comparisons between multiple regions and nations, but it is often the case that comparative politicians are some area studies at the same time. Comparative politics is first required to play a role as one of the cognitive frameworks that can be shared among area studies. Nevertheless, there are islands of theory that are not systematized at this time. In comparative politics, we may try not only the current comparison but also the past system and the past and present in the same country.

B. OLD INSTITUTIONALISM AND NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the first version of institutionalism was formed, based on a formal legal analysis and comparison of state-legal and political institutions of different countries (legislative systems, executive power, constitutions). Among the most significant researchers related to this galaxy, F. Polok, E. Freeman ("Comparative Political Science", 1873), M. Kovalevsky ("Historical-Comparative Method in Jurisprudence and Methods of Studying Law", 1880) should be named.), W.Wilson ("The State", 1889), D. Perges ("Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law"), etc. Scientists focused mainly on the study of the state, its organs and institutions, through which it exercises its functions. A significant contribution to the formation of institutionalism in the field of economics was made by TA. Koelble.

In 1918 W. Hamilton introduced the term "institutionalism", defining an institution as "a widespread way of thinking or acting, embodied in the habits of groups and customs of the people" [Hamilton, 1932, p. 84]. Institutions are viewed at this time mainly as political institutions - formal provisions, laws or their derivative separation of powers, methods of election. It is believed that institutions record established procedures, reflect a general agreement, an agreement that has developed in society. Institutions at this time meant customs, corporations, trade unions, the state, etc. The true glory of the "old" institutionalism was made by the studies of W. Wilson, J. Bruce, T. Cole, G. Carter, and K.

Friedrich Classical instiutionalism contributed to a deeper analysis of management problems.

1.1 OLD INSTITUTIONALISM AND NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

By the middle of the 20[th]century. Scientists record the crisis state of the methodology of institutionalism, which was associated with a whole complex of reasons: insufficient capabilities of the empirical / descriptive method only in the study of institutions; limited possibilities of formal legal analysis to explain political realities, low predictive capabilities of institutional theory in explaining the formation and functioning of democracy in a number of states, difficulties in comparing institutions in different regions, etc.

In the 1960s. Research in the paradigm of classical institutionalism practically disappears under the onslaught of supporters of behaviorism. The features of the behavioral approach to the analysis of politics J. March and J. Olsen include the following:

- Contextualize (politics is seen as a mirror image of the external environment - economic conditions, geographic location, social-class structure, etc.);

- Reductionism (political phenomena are considered as general results of individual behavior);

- Utilitarianism (political action - the resultant self-interest of political actors);

- Functionalism (the optimal result of political action is to achieve a balance of political forces);

- Instrumentalism (the process of making political decisions and the allocation of resources is seen as the central problem of political life). Behaviouralists have treated political institutions as formal mechanisms that function only thanks to the people working in them, acting on the principle of "stimulus-response".

However, the inconsistency of explaining political processes within the framework of the behavioral approach again generates interest in the study of institutions.

Neo-institutionalism took shape as an independent trend in the 1980s. The article by J. March and J. Olsen "New Institutionalism: Organizational Forms in Political Life" in 1984 is considered a programmatic one for the formation of this methodology in political science, although J. Rawls is usually called the pioneer of Neo-institutionalism. Political institutions are analyzed from the point of view of the relationship between formal norms and informal "rules of the game", which ultimately form complex organizational relations, forms of interaction and the very cooperative activity of people who maintain

stability and reproduce order in society. The formation of new methodologies in political research does not happen overnight.

There are several fundamental differences between the "old" and "new" institutionalism. If institutionalists were inclined to analyze political processes by methods of other sciences about society, then neo-institutionalists are expanding their arsenal of tools, including turning to game theory. The new institutionalism relies on developmental theory and the use of quantitative methods of analysis. Traditional institutionalism has relied primarily on the inductive method; neo-institutionalists prefer the deductive path - from attempts to create a universal theory to the analysis of specific phenomena of political life. In addition, institutionalism mainly analyzes the actions of structures; for Neo-institutionalism, an independent individual is more significant as an object of analysis, which, of his own free will and in accordance with his interests, is integrated into a particular structure, i.e. the attention of researchers is focused on real behavior. If the "old" institutionalism assigns a central place in the theory to the conflict of interests, then for neo-institutionalism it plays a peripheral role. Finally, Neo-institutionalism provides incomparably greater opportunities for comparative analysis than its predecessor (Weingast 1999).

Neo-institutionalism pays special attention to socio-cultural symbols and values, stereotypes and regulations that influence the structuring of macro politics. The classics of neo-institutionalism, American political scientists D. March and J. Olsen in their work "Rediscovering institutions: the organizational basis of politics" (1989) analyze the problems of organizational hierarchies, norms and rules, procedures and regulations that shape the activities of political institutions [March, Olsen, 1989]. D. North noted the need to analyze informal constraints (traditions, customs, and social conventions), formal rules (constitutions, laws, judicial precedents, administrative acts) and enforcement mechanisms that ensure compliance with the rules (courts, police, etc.)

Two questions are considered fundamental for neo-institutionalism: how, as one of the factors, institutions influence the political behavior of individuals and political life; how political institutions arise and change. D. Diermeier and K. Krebil proposed to distinguish between "theories of institutions" and "institutional theories". The diverse streams of Neo-institutionalism have led analysts to offer different versions of their classification. For example, P. Katzenstein speaks about two forms of new institutionalism - "thick" and "thin". The "thin" version is focused on a rationalist analytical style, where institutions are seen as mechanisms that contribute to solving the problem of coordination. "Subtle" institutionalism is focused on the study of the foundations of individual political choice and ineffectively describes the processes at the macro level. J. Blom-Hansen identifies two main areas of Neo-institutionalism - rational choice within the framework of the economic direction of political science and sociological. P. Hall and R. Taylor consider it necessary to distinguish three options - historical, sociological and economic

According to G. Peters, six variants of Neo-institutionalism should be distinguished:

1) Normative institutionalism, emphasizing the importance of norms and values, and not just formal structures, rules or procedures (D. March, K. Olsen);

2) Institutionalism of rational choice (J. Buchanan, E. Ostrom, M. Levy), exploring the significance of external structural constraints in relation to rational actors;

3) Historical institutionalism, which considers institutional choice (goals, means, and evaluation criteria) as a long-term factor of political results (K. Thelen, D. Ashford, T. Longstredt);

4) Empirical (structural) institutionalism (K. Weaver, B. Rockman), which is an updated scientific version of the "old" institutionalism (formalized analysis of forms of government, political systems, features of the administrative structure, etc.);

5) Societal institutionalism, focusing the attention of researchers on the relationship between the state and society - models of interaction within the private and public sectors and between them (D. Marsh, R. Rhodson);

6) Institutionalism in studies of foreign policy and international relations.

In addition, the attention of neo-institutionalists is also the so-called alternative approaches - rules and / or compulsion to rule, which allow, prescribe and prohibit the actions of members of institutions; at the same time, institutions are interpreted as self-selected constraints and a means of aggregating individual preferences.

There is a peculiarity in the interpretation of institutions from the point of view of the theory of rational choice - the presence of two levels of analysis, which make it possible not only to understand the effects of the interaction of institutions, but also the course of development of institutions and the reasons for the preservation of certain forms of organizations:

• Analysis of institutions as immutable and exogenous;

• Analysis of the reasons for the emergence of a specific form of institutions, which allows them to be considered as endogenous phenomena.

At the same time, institutions are understood as constraints on the actions of actors involved in the interaction process. All actors act on the principle of maximizing their goals within the existing constraints (the so-called self-reinforcement concept). The theory of rational choice makes it possible, on the basis of a comparison of the functioning of institutions and an assessment of the results of their activities, to make predictions about stability, efficiency and prospects for survival. In addition, the strength of the theory of rational choice in Neo-institutionalism is the assessment of the transformation of the nature of interaction between institutions when external circumstances change.

The works of modern representatives of Neo-institutionalism in political science demonstrate the multidimensionality of institutional evolution due to the influence of the dynamics of formal and informal institutions, as well as the variety of trajectories of the political choice of actors under the influence of the institutional environment. There is a variety of ways of interaction between formal and informal institutions, ideas and beliefs, their influence on political choices, the peculiarities of the restrictions they impose on political evolution.

For modern Neo-institutionalism, it is important to analyze the institutional dynamics and organizational structures, the institutionalization of new social movements on the periphery of the institutional system of society, and turning points of political events for the emergence or destruction of the institutional structure and political order. In the modern version of institutionalism, new directions are significant - "sociological institutionalism", "constructivist institutionalism", "network institutionalism", which arose under the influence of the expansion of the object of analysis: in addition to traditional institutions of state power and institutions of political participation, socio-cultural variables of institutional dynamics are taken into account.

Research strategies of modern Neo-institutionalism focus on the role of symbolic structures of political institutions (formal and informal) in maintaining, constructing political cultures, identities, legitimizing and delegitimizing the political order.

The shift of the research focus of Neo-institutionalism to the study of the influence of "networks of meanings", "network trust", cognitive schemes and scripts of symbolic legitimization of institutional dynamics led to an "anthropological turn" in neoinstitutional analysis, manifested in the study of the variability of the process of emergence and adaptation of new political institutions under the influence of symbolic and organizational structures. The interest of Neo-institutionalism in the specifics of the formation of statehood due to the structural autonomy of political institutions in relation to others, the role of symbiotic foundations (violence and coercion) in the institutional evolution of politics, the

"background practices" of the construction of political institutions is manifested.

K. Hay pointed out that Neo-institutionalism as a whole and its individual directions are not free from certain limitations and shortcomings. Neo-institutionalism emphasizes the description of the previous development of institutions, in the logic of the structuralist approach it emphasizes the dependence of political actors on institutional circumstances, is more able to explain the state of political stability than changes [Institutional Political Science, 2006].

Conclusion:

This chapter has argued that institutions matter in political life and it has tried to explain how and why this is so. Institutions can be defined as sets of rules, codes or tacit understandings which shape behaviour. Whether they *determine* behaviour is another matter. As we saw above, rational choice approaches to institutionalist explanation run perilously close to this. For this reason it is best instead to carefully explore the interaction between institutions and the 'situated subjects' within them. The emphasis should be on *actors* as the primary unit of analysis and how they interpret and make choices within their institutional environment. It is these interpretive processes which have been the focus of the research mentioned above on how ideas and discourse interact with institutional settings.

C. GLOBAL CONTEXT OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

1.2 GLOBAL CONTEXT OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The last few decades have seen wide reaching changes in the context and with it the subject matter of Comparative Politics. This has enormous implications for comparative research itself. Comparative Politics in the 21st Century cannot be identical to that of the 20th century. Simply to continue as before would be to overlook the fundamental difficulties inherent in so doing. This does not mean however that Comparative Politics should be completely reinvented. Continuities will remain, and rightly so. However it does mean that given the context of significant empirical changes, research has to be rethought and deliberated upon. This has, as we shall see, a considerable effect upon research activity. Not only is the area of terminology affected, but methodological approaches and theoretical formation equally so. Before we investigate these areas individually, we shall briefly outline the significant empirical changes which are poised to reshape Comparative Politics.

The word politics is often treated on the premise that it takes place within a single nation or society. The Greek word police, which was the etymology of English politics in the first place, refers to a city-state. In

other words, the traditional idea is that politics is first carried out in a society or nation that is independent to some extent and the subject of political science research has followed this idea.

However, in modern times, the scope of human activity has increased beyond one nation to engage with other nations at an accelerating rate. Not only the geographical spread, but also the involvement with societies and nations belonging to different cultures and civilizations has increased. In that case, there is an increasing need to deepen the understanding of the political systems and functions of different societies, or the relationships between nations. Of course, we sometimes discover similar political systems and phenomena that look different.

Research fields such as comparative politics and international affairs have developed from this background. Comparative politics is a discipline that compares the state of politics among multiple nations and societies, and then explores the essence of politics that transcends the relationship between politics and the societies and history of each country and cultural differences. International affairs (international politics) mainly focuses on the relationship between the state and foreign countries and the nature of the international community. In the past, diplomacy / security and political economy were the main focus, but in recent years, relationships as a social group and cultural exchange have become important issues. In today's increasingly globalized world, it is becoming increasingly important to understand the politics of other countries and to know international affairs. Learning comparative politics and international affairs should be a great opportunity not only for those who advance into politics, administration, and diplomacy, but also for those who pursue any course.

The subject of comparative politics as developed, in the Global Context, has these main characteristics:

1. Analytical and Empirical Investigation: The analytical-cum-empirical method adopted by the writers belonging to the latest phase "has definitely enlarged the field of our enquiry as it has cleared up the mist in which many helpful distinctions within the framework of political studies lay obscured." Eckstein has referred to the late decades of the nineteenth century as a period in which Political Science influenced by a 'primitive positivism' "affected a divorce between its normative and its descriptive concerns." He further says that in the realm of 'comparative government', more and more writers "turned from a concern for the evaluation of governmental forms to a pure description.

2. Study of the Infrastructure: The study of comparative politics is not confined to the formal structures of government as was the trend with the traditional political scientists. Here a student is concerned 'with inquiry into matters of public concern, with the behaviour and acts that may concern a society as a totality or which may ultimately be resolved by the exercise of legitimate coercion." Instead of remaining concerned with the formal structures of government alone, he "has to be concerned with

crystallised patterns of behaviour, with 'practices' since these are parts of the living structures of government." If instead of 'government' the term 'political system' is used, naturally it becomes a part of the entire social system and the 'input-output' process includes all those forces of the 'environment' that have their effect on the decision-making process.

3. Emphasis on the Study of Developing Societies: What has added more to the significance of the study of comparative politics is the emphasis of more writers on the 'politics of the developing areas'. It has occurred as a result of the realisation that the subject of comparative politics must include all governments along with their infra-structures that "exist in the contemporary world and, where possible, references to governments throughout time." The study of comparative government is no longer a study of the selected European or American governments; it is as much a study of developed western governments as those of the developing political systems of the poor and backward countries of the Afro-Asian and Latin American world.

4. Focus on Inter-Disciplinary Approach: What has really enriched the field of comparative politics and, at the same time, made it a 'complex subject' is the focus on inter-disciplinary study. Writers have made more and more use of tools that they have borrowed from the disciplines of sociology, psychology, economics, anthropology and even from natural sciences like biology. For instance, systems analysis with its two derivatives in the form of structural functional and input-output approaches owes its origin to the discipline of biology that has been borrowed by the leading American political scientists like David Easton from sociologists like Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons. The result is that comparative politics has come to have much that makes it look like political sociology and political psychology. A study of new topics like political development, political modernisation, political socialisation, political acculturation, political change, political leadership and the like shows that now political science has become the "application of sociological and psychological analysis to the study of the behaviour of government and other political structures."

5. Value-Free Political Theory: Finally, the subject of political science has lost its normative aspect and assumed empirical dimensions in the sphere of comparative politics. The result is that value-free political theory has replaced value-laden political theory. The concern of the students of comparative politics is not with the things as they ought to be in their ideal forms; it is with what they are. There is hardly any place for the rules of history or ethics in the subject of comparative politics as the entire field has been covered by the rules of sociology, psychology and economics. There is thus hardly any place for a man like Leo Strauss in the field of comparative politics who, while sticking to the traditions of Plato and Aristotle, contends that political theory cannot eschew 'values' and thus a value-free political science is impossible. It should, however, be made clear that the use of the term 'values' by Easton (when he defines politics

as 'the authoritative allocation of values') or of 'value system' by Almond (when he identifies it with a system of ideas and beliefs) has an empirical, and not a normative, connotation. We may say that the term value is used by the writers on comparative politics in the sense of a 'price' or 'worth' that a thing gets after it is recognised by the policymakers.

There is no value in a thing unless it is allocated by those who are in authority. Political science, thus, becomes *inter alia* a study of the distribution by persons in authority of things which are valued, or the attribution by such persons of value to things, or the deciding by such persons of disputes relating to things which are valued.

1.3 CONCLUSION

Comparative politics is more about a method of political inquiry than a subject matter in politics. The comparative method seeks insight through the evaluation and analysis of two or more countries.

There are two main strategies in the comparative method: most similar systems design, in which the cases are similar but the outcome (or dependent variable) is different, and most different systems design, in which the cases are different but the outcome is the same. Both strategies can yield valuable comparative insights.

A key unit of comparison is the nation-state, which gives relatively cohesive cultural and political entities as the basis of comparison. A nation-state is the overlap of a definable cultural identity (a nation) with a political system that reflects and affirms characteristics of that identity (a state).

In comparing constitutions and political institutions across countries, it is important to analyze the factors that shape unique constitutional and institutional designs.

1.4 UNIT END QUESTION

1. What is the nature and scope of comparative governments?

2. Write a short note on the main differences between 'Comparative Politics' and 'Comparative Government'.

3. What exactly is an institution? What is institutionalism?

4. How does new institutionalism differ from old institutionalism?

5. What is the role comparative politics in the Era of Globalisation?

6. What are the main characteristics of comparative politics in the Global Context?

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2

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN STATE

Unit Structure

A. STATE IN A COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORK

2.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit aims to introduce you to the process of development of the modern State and different theories of State. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the meaning, nature and significance of the modern nation-state.

- Understand and explicate different theories of the State.

- Explicate meaning and relationship between State and Nation.

- Understand post-colonialism as the development of State after decolonization in Asia and Africa.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BC) known as the father of political science stated that "Man is by nature a political animal". People are organized in different social organizations such as family and school, economic organizations such as cooperatives and companies and political

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organizations such as political parties and the United Nations. A state is a form of political organization of humans. Humans were hunter-gatherers and were not located in a permanent territory in prehistoric times. Humans lived nomadic and semi-nomadic lives foraging most of the food from plants and hunting. Initially living in simple groups foraging for food. Gradually, organized in tribes at this nomadic stage, under the powerful leader of the group. With the gradual development of agriculture out of human ingenuity, humans could settle now in one place in a defined territory. As agricultural development continued humans could produce surplus food. Until surplus production of food the human mind and brain were occupied by physical need and the basic task of gathering food. Now humans could focus on other aspects of life due to food security. Fertile land became invaluable due to the development of agriculture. The consciousness of territoriality garnered importance and gradually group of people started to live in defined territory leaving behind nomadic lives. Due to food surplus, humans could organize themselves in families. The need for a physically strong Alpha, a leader, withered away for the tribe because such leadership became less important in a sedentary lifestyle than hunting. Trade, culture and art could flourish due to surplus food production and permanent settlement. This calls for a complex and different form of regulation and governance of people and economic activities which need bureaucracy. The powerful person becomes king and early states emerged in ancient civilizations. First advanced civilizations such as the Indus valley civilization in India along the rivers in China, Egypt and Iraq are State civilizations that developed trade, art and complex bureaucracy in ancient times. Different types of states with limited democracy such as Greek city-states and janapadas and vast kingdoms such as the Roman Empire and Maurya Empire developed in Europe and India respectively to name examples among other states in different parts of the world. States based on the social hierarchy of feudal system and influence of Church governed Europe under monarchies during the fifteenth century. Peace of Westphalia bought an end to the Eight years' war between Spain and the Dutch and also to a phase of eighty years' war between the Dutch and Germans. This European settlement in 1648 is considered the moment of the emergence of the modern State.

The state carries different connotations in various theories and ideologies. Accordingly, it is defined in various ways. There is no one agreed definition of the state as the nature of the state also changed with time and space. The definition given by German Sociologist Max Weber is widely accepted, it states that "State is a polity that maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence." State legitimately claims a monopoly over people in territory governed, coercion is a legitimate instrument of State makes it unique and differentiates from other forms of political organizations.

The state is a "politically organized society." The state may coincide with society when it takes the form of a nation. Relationships in State are in the

form of command and obedience to laws whereas in a society dependent on customs, tradition and needs. It is civil society in Liberal theory that works to pursue rights of people from government and in Pluralism civil society counterbalances power to State however for Marxism it is part of Superstructure generating social values to dominate the proletariat. Society can extend beyond State boundaries. The state is always there in modern society, almost seems omnipresent, however for most of the prehistoric times people lived in stateless societies and there are theories and thoughts like Marxism and Gandhism who predict and want to establish a stateless society.

2.2 NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MODERN STATE

Modern states comprised vast empires in Europe in modern times. Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian empire constituted vast landmasses, greater than most of the nation-states present today. There are four important constituents of modern States. Sovereignty, government, territory and people. "Sovereignty means the State is supreme in internal as well as external matters." It is supreme political authority to govern in defined territory controlled by it, within its delineated borders. People of the State are given the legal status of citizens. "Citizenship is a legal status of an individual allows claim over rights and has obligations towards the State." "Government is the executive arm of the State which carries out its functions in internal and external matters." We can empirically observe and measure components of the State but it is an imaginative entity comprising empirically observable constituents. In day-to-day life words, government and state are used interchangeably. However, the government changes every few years, and the State is a comparably permanent political organization. Modern nation-states control large territories. People of different communities, religions, languages and ethnicities reside in them. These diverse groups live in these states amicably. In some places, the State uses coercion to control the population but for the most part, people are willingly obliged to State jurisdiction. Modern State has mechanisms like vast Bureaucracy to collect and utilize revenue earned through the sophisticated taxation system, police agencies to maintain law and order and armies to defend from external threats. Modern State is commonly referred to as a nation-state. "Nation is feeling of oneness among the populace". Even though people have diverse backgrounds in life they adore the objectives of their State and feel being part of it.

If one contemplates what differentiates political science from other social science, one of the obvious answers would be the study of State. J.W. Gamer claimed that "political science begins and ends with the state." The State is the central theme of study in traditional political science. "The State is an imaginative, formal concept helps us to think about the ultimate and moral ends of political organization." The real-world working of systems disallows us to do such a practice easily with government or

political parties. The State is notoriously referred to as a "Big Brother" who watches over all activities of individuals, and acquires special significance, in today's information society wherein freedom of individuals could be violated by private and government entities for unethical ends using intrusive surveillance violating privacy. The state performs various functions in modern times; it is an active agent in shaping and reshaping society.

Check Your Progress
1) Write down notes on the meaning and significance of the modern nation-state?

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B. STATE AND NATION

2.3 THEORIES OF STATE

Various philosophers from different traditions have dwelt in the origin and functions of the State. Mechanistic theory depicts the formation of the state through social contract theory; social contract theory is conducive to the liberal tradition. "Mechanistic theory delineates the development of machines and the discovery of physical laws." Philosophers in Europe looked at the State as a machine governed by certain laws to be discovered through observation. Parts of the State could be changed and replaced as for the machine for better performance. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Lock (1632-1704) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) are considered the main classical proponents of social contract theory. "The Social Contract is a contract between all individuals of society expressing a common will for the formation of State. State is a product of mutual agreement to serve social needs." Hobbes viewed human nature as selfish and cruel, everyone was at war against everyone in the state of nature and since there was no law everyone was insecure. The State was formed through a social contract for the protection of everyone through control exercised over everyone by the State. Hobbes creates an absolute and all-powerful sovereign. For lock human as rational, good, helpful, benevolent being. The State of nature is peaceful wherein individuals live with cooperation. However, there are some disturbing elements in society who need to be controlled. Men agree to pool their natural rights of life, liberty and property to form a State which would protect those natural rights and punish offenders. Lockian state has limited sovereignty, the government is conceived as a trust running in accordance with the constitution and the people have right to revolution. Rousseau depicts human nature as simple

and innocent. People come together to form a social contract in a situation of scarcity to provide security. All individuals surrender their natural liberty by expression of General Will to form absolute, inalienable and indestructible sovereign. People don't need the right of resistance as State is formed by popular sovereignty expressed through a general will. People have two types of will, actual will and real will. "Real will" is about more than individual causes for the betterment of society since individual good is constituent of social good. The combination of the real will of every individual in society is "General will" expressing formation of State for Rousseau.

2.3.1 Organic and Mechanist theory:
 "Organic theory of state conceives State as a natural institution; a living organism and people are organs of it." The state is compared with the living body and humans with organs. This implies the existence of people dependent on the existence of the State as for organs to the body, and different people are naturally fit for the performance of different functions. Ancient Greeks held that State came into existence for the sake of good life and State is necessary for the existence of a civilized being, Aristotle held that "man is by nature a political animal and declared State is prior to man." The State is by nature prior to family and individual because individuals can't suffice when isolated. For Aristotle "One who doesn't need society because he is self-sufficient is either a beast or a god." For Burke "State is the product of historical growth, like living organisms and it can't sustain dissection." The state doesn't only help man to survive but to live a good life. It has a moral influence over man which enables him to enjoy life as a citizen and achieve excellence. Thus organic theory sees the state as a natural institution. The organic theory is criticized, for it makes a man not only subordinate of State but submerges his personality into the State, it provides no rights against State and denies equality to citizens as organs are supposed to perform different types of functions and some functions are superior to other functions.

2.3.2 Liberal theory:
Liberal theory of State supports democratic government in the political sphere. The famous definition of democratic government by Abraham Lincoln is "of the people, by the people, and for the people." There are two types of democratic governments, the Westminster system and the Presidential system as in the United Kingdom and the United States of America respectively. In the Westminster system, which India accepted, representatives are elected by people and they chose the Head of the government while in the Presidential system the head of the government is directly elected through an election. Democracies work according to the constitution. Some democracies like the USA follow a federal system and some like India are quasi-federal.

"Classical Liberalism" developed in the eighteenth century as a new middle class and mercantile class emerged in Europe after the industrial revolution. The origin of liberalism could be traced in a social contract

because it envisaged like physical laws, there are social laws that need to be discovered through human ingenuity of observation and reason. Interference in physical law causes disturbance, State should not interfere in Social laws for that would disturb the smooth functioning of society. An individual is a unit of analysis; he is endowed with reason to satisfy his interests. He should be allowed to function freely and acquire property through his labor. The state should follow laissez fair policy (leave alone) towards individual will. It postulated State as a necessary evil, evil because it restricts the freedom of individuals through regulation and necessary because without regulation, individual freedom can't exist.

Among the chief exponents of classical liberalism Adam Smith (1723-1832) proposed that the State should not interfere in the economy. The market would be regulated by an "invisible hand, that is by the social laws of nature." He advocated free markets 'laissez fair" policy devoid of government interference. Due to free markets, competition will increase and competitive economic production will be advantageous for society. Humans have natural rights to liberty. Functions of the state would be limited to defense from external aggression, protection of individuals from injustice and few public goods. Classical liberalism is also seen as negative liberalism. It restricted activity of the State and promoted free-market society and power of individual reason, to satisfy self-interest which would, in turn, satisfy the interests of the whole society constituted by the self-interest of every individual, achieved through labor used to acquire property in a free market economy based on laissez fair.

Liberalism in its later phase widened the role of the State to provide public goods promoting the concept of the welfare state. Negative liberalism promoting free-market society established capitalism in Europe. It led to the rapid development of the economy, however, most of the workers lived poor lives in industrial cities. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) proponent of negative liberalism proposed utility as a yardstick of State policy. The state should strive to achieve the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." This philosophy came to be known as "utilitarianism." It was conceived that this could be achieved through a market based on laissez-faire. However, the market concentrated capital in the hands of few people enjoying the pleasure and maximized struggles of workers which perpetuated pain for maximum people.

Proponent of positive liberalism J.S. Mill (1806-1873) continuously supported a democratic, representative and constitutional government in the political sphere. In the economic sphere, he leaned towards social justice, shifting from laissez-faire to social justice, laying foundations of the "Welfare State". Welfare State is a concept in liberalism where the State ensures provision of public goods like health, education, food and shelter to everyone. Bentham identifying happiness with pleasure and unhappiness with pain. However, he stipulated that some pleasures are qualitatively superior and believed quality is more important than quantity. Expressing his view he wrote, "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied".

He diverted from the maximization of pleasure criterion of Bentham. Mill advocated liberty of thought and expression on grounds of human dignity. Dividing liberty of conduct Mill advocated complete liberty in "self-regarding action" with the only exemption for state interference when the behavior of an individual is injurious to himself, in the sphere of "others regarding action" individual behavior could be regulated by state, this shows a significant departure from laissez-faire individualism. He argued the right to property is not absolute and advocated restrictions on inheritance. No man has absolute right to land as its natural resource. The right to property is not violated by taxation on rent as rental income increased without additional effort. Based on the ideas of Mill, L. T. Hob house develops a "theory of taxation" wherein the individual property is not only a creation of his efforts but also because of space, intelligence, labor and security provided by society. The function of Taxation is to secure wealth with a social origin for society and not a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul. T H Green distinguishes between "negative freedoms" that is an absence of restraint for the satisfaction of individual desire and "positive freedom" that is the freedom to act according to the reason for self-realization and self-perfection. "True liberty" is an act of goodwill in the sphere of positive freedom for which rights are needed. State as guarantor of right of life, liberty and property for all liberal thinkers on the basis of the social contract. For Green and Robert MacIver rights don't originate in the sphere of law but the moral sphere of positive liberty. The practice of the welfare state, the provision of public goods to safeguard the rights of individuals, especially vulnerable individuals developed after the failure of laissez-faire was starkly observed during the Great Depression of 1929. John Keynes developed the General theory of economics as laissez-faire failed due to lack of demand and production. General theory advocated state intervention in the economy to create demand and supply.

The resurrection of classical liberalism in the twentieth century is coined as libertarianism or neoliberalism. It advocates free trade, globalization, privatization, and deregulation under influences global finance capital for the objective of its free flow and austerity by state. Milton Friedman is a chief Proponent of political freedom advocates the separation of economic power from the State as a centralizing tendency of power leads to political repression. The separation of power establishes balance and increased competition. Neoliberalism advocates reduction in the welfare state.

2.3.3 Marxist theory:
Marxist theory on State postulates that the State is an "instrument of exploitation for the dominant class." Karl Marx (1818-1883) is the chief proponent of Marxist theory. Society is formed of two "antagonistic classes" bourgeoisie and proletariat. State along with religion and culture forms part of the "Superstructure" "Proletariat" is the laborers, workers and peasants farmers "base" Means of production are controlled by the capitalist class forming superstructure. Capitalist State flourished on the appropriation of "Surplus Value" of labor. Surplus value is the difference between wages paid to workers and actual value of goods produced by

workers. Marxist theory of dialectical materialism between two antagonistic classes delineates the formation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to establish a classless and stateless society, where "everyone would contribute according to their ability and everyone would get according to need." For the formation of the dictatorship of proletariat workers of the world shall unite and do the revolution. For Marx, the Capitalist class exercised control over the proletariat through the control of means of production. For him, the "history of mankind is the history of class struggle." Marx advocates a way of violent revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Marx's analysis was adequate. Stateless and Classless society never came into being where revolution happened such as the USSR. Revolution failed to materialize in western industrial states which actually had a large class of industrial workers where Marx predicted where it would happen. Democratic governments with capitalist economies are sustained in most of the countries of the world. For Marx, the state should wither away one day under the dictatorship of the proletariat paving the way to a stateless and classless society.

Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), another stalwart of Marxist theory, analyzed that the Capitalist State doesn't sustain by only using force but by establishing hegemony through civil society. "Hegemony" is control exercised by ruling classes using culture consisting of beliefs, tradition, perception and mores. "Civil society" consists of school, culture and religion. Capitalist State produces and reproduces legitimacy through hegemony.

2.3.4 Gender theory:
Feminist theory views the State as an instrument of regulating the public sphere and as an instrument of power. To secure justice for women in the sphere of personal relationships, the family should also be regulated. The state should continue intervention in the public sphere for equal access to women. Kate Millet, an American feminist gave the slogan that "personal is political" and defined politics as power structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another. Socialist feminist critique of liberal State is that it positions itself in a way that power structure in it is equally accessible to men and women; however, it ends increasing dependence of women over men, market exploitation and unpaid labor at home. Liberal criticism of women's situation in socialist systems is that the State is associated with forced emancipation by employing women in strenuous jobs. Women constitute deprived sections of society in all parts of the world however in post-colonial states women's lives are less often touched by State regulation, leading to greater exploitation and violence. Eco-feminism sees due to exclusion of women from State power State loses nature-friendly character leading to increased environmental degradation.

2.3.5 Pluralist theory:
State is a mechanism to serve the interests of various groups simultaneously. Pluralist State should act as an "impartial arbitrator" to

avoid concentration of power with an influential group, State is not the center of power, and power resides with different groups. The democratic system which allows freedom of association is able to evolve as a pluralist State. People would constitute in associations to pursue individual and common interests, with time these associations will become powerful to counterbalance the power of the State. "The set of these associations is Civil Society, regarded as the bulwark of democratic order." Authoritarian system doesn't allow association, if strong association emerges in an authoritarian State, distribution of power would lead to a collapse of the authoritarian system. Leon Deguit contested sovereignty only with the State, Harold J Laski and MacIver made an appeal that various social groups should be treated as different centers of power. The state will compete for the loyalty of these groups leading to better governance. Dahl and Lindleblom described their model of working democracy as "polyarchy" where power is dispersed in different sections of society, the State acting as broker and ensuring no one dominates at the bottom. On the descriptive side, the pluralist State is a liberal democracy and on the normative side it wants redistribution of resources to ensure social justice so no one group dominates in society and because the group themselves may not function democratically.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1) What is a liberal perspective on State? Compare the liberal view of State with Marxist view.

2) Explain.

A) Pluralist theory of State.

B) Gender view of State.

3) Find out about the Gandhian and anarchist views of the State.

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2.4 STATE AND NATION

A nation is feeling oneness among people. It is the emotion of belonging together as a community, as one people. This feeling could be based on a common historical past of shared history, culture, geography, ethnicity or language. Ancient and medieval empires constituted large swaths of lands. People of different ethnicities lived in them but they didn't have a feeling of oneness among them, these Empire States constituted many nations. Modern countries also constitute people from many ethnicities. The State in modern times has been successful to cultivate emotional oneness among its populace to a large extent and the interchangeably used name for State is a nation-state. Even today most of the big countries are formed of people considering themselves as different nations. Also, some nations

extend across the boundaries of States such as Kurds. Here, the issues of sub-nationalism and ultra-nationalism arise which fuel separatist tendencies, sometimes it leads to repression by State using violence, sometimes political solutions over the issues are found.

Sri Lanka is an example of Sub nationalism in the Indian subcontinent. Tamil speaking people living in northern parts of Sri Lanka wanted their own country as the majority Sinhalese population denied them their rights, their language and identity. This led to separatism and violence by LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam). After years of violence problem still persists. In 1995 Quebec, a French speaking province of Canada, in 2017 Catalonia in Spain and in 2018 Ireland in the United Kingdom had a referendum for independence. All these three happened democratically in western nations. We can see that sub-national tendencies persist everywhere. This is the reason the United States is called a "melting spot" and India is proud of its "Unity in Diversity" as these notions help diverse groups of people to be a nation, to be one people with tolerance towards differences. Successful national identity is achieved through the promise of larger uniting values such as fraternity, fraternity and justice rather than social schisms of language, race and geography. The disintegration of the State of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) in 1991 led to the formation of many nation-states; this shows that new nations can emerge when strong states fail. Of these territories, Russia re-acquired (annexed) Crimea after a controversial referendum in 2014 shows that States may go to war to unite their nation. As we saw in Sri Lanka, the State is generally dominated by people of one ethnicity, language or religion. This leads to the persecution of minorities. eg. Shia Muslims are persecuted by Sunni Muslims in Pakistan, All other identities such as Uighur and Tibetan are forcefully subverted to Han Chinese culture in China.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3
Differentiate between nation and State? Find out about the making of India as a nation-state?

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C. POSTCOLONIAL STATE

2.5 POSTCOLONIAL STATE

Decolonization of South America happened much earlier and white colonies such as the USA and Australia had independent or semi-independent States.

Large swathes of the global south in Africa and Asia were decolonized by the mid-twentieth century. Many States emerged in these countries after 1900. These newly independent nations carved and formed out of colonies are generally referred to as postcolonial States. These States had experienced colonial exploitation for centuries. Many of these States started with an interventionist agenda to build their nation through State policy and support. However, they lacked economic power to scale up their agendas. These states many times adopted language, bureaucracy, army and institutions created by former colonizers because of this English and French are official languages of a large number of States of the erstwhile third world for this reason. The ability to govern, that is governmentality of these States was limited due to the lack of resources and colonial exploitation compared to the humongous task of nation-building at hand. Government in most of these states largely showed authoritarian tendencies and dictatorship, military junta, authoritarian leaders took control of affairs in their hands. India is a silver lining and shining example of successful post-colonial democracy in the third world. In most of the countries, authoritarian governments grabbed power. China is another strong State which had a communist revolution and is still under the rule of the communist party. South Africa is another democracy in a post-colonial world where the apartheid of black people continued for a long time and democratization was achieved through peaceful means under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Ghana, Congo, Egypt and such a large number of States formed who identify themselves as part of the East, Global South are interest of the study of post-colonialism. Neocolonialism through economic power was one of the challenges these nations faced, this economic imperialism came in form of aid and investment in the name of development from erstwhile colonizers. Neo imperialism is a phenomenon wherein the economic resources of decolonized were grabbed and controlled by Western capital.

The Postcolonial State was influenced by anti-imperialism. It was also an embodiment of anti-colonial thought by the likes of Gandhi, Fanon and Said, cultural and academic tradition. Newly independent states formed Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) to put forward their independent perspective in the international system. However, many of these States were partially or totally part of the spheres of two superpowers, either of USSR or USA as they were dependent for finance, technology and security. Today some of these erstwhile colonies have emerged as strong nation-states such as India and China and others are in turmoil such as Afghanistan and Sudan. You are well aware of how India built itself into a nation after it became independent at the stroke of the midnight hour on 15th August 1947. Pakistan also gained independence with India from England but it could not continue on a democratic path, the power went into the hands of army generals and it stands as a rogue nation supporting terrorism and has been dependent on one or other major power, firstly the USA and now China. However, Bangladesh became independent in 1971 and has gone ahead of India in several human development indicators and its growth rate is higher than India in 2021, in times after Covid.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

1. What is decolonization? What are the different ways in which postcolonial States developed?

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2.6 CONCLUSION

Hegel stated that State is a march of God on earth. However, State is facing challenges from globalization, internationalism, ultra-nationalism, terrorism and internal issues such as separatism and developmental challenges. In liberal democratic States the role of Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society (Interest groups, Pressure Groups, Social movements) have been significant. Although the government is one of the arms of the State. Nation-State is classified based on types of government it has such as Democratic State, Socialist State, Communist State, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Dictatorship, Authoritarian, Multicultural or Pluralist. The state is in existence for millennia and the development of the modern nation-state marks a significant moment as the human population has expanded manifold after the industrial revolution, like never before in history, as modern sovereign nation-states ruled the world.

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3

THE POLITY

Unit Structure

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- To Study the polity and its constitutionalism
- To Comparatively study the democratic and non-democratic system

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of constitutional law was described by Aristotle as the arrangement of the offices in a state. An early reference to the constitution can be dated back to the Romans (450 BC) who codified their constitution in twelve tablets, Asoka Edicts, etc. The modern constitutional developments were the result of the developments during the 'Age of Renaissance'. Enlightenment led to the emergence of 'Individualism' and the 'Democratic structure' of the government, leading to Constitutionalism'.

A Constitution is a document that defines the laws for any polity, but the effectiveness of any constitution is checked by its practice in terms of 'Constitutionalism'. John Locke's 'Two Treatises of Government' deals with two basic theories. One is that the individuals have the right to criticize the government as it is not the supreme government 'Law'. Secondly, it defines the 'Natural Rights' namely Right to Life ', 'Right to Liberty' and 'Right to Property. The French Revolution demanded Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Russian Revolution resulted in the idea of 'Justice'. The Americans signed their constitution in 1787 after American Revolution.

A constitution must be forward-looking and must defend the rights of individuals balancing with law and order maintained in a state. In this chapter, we will learn about the Constitution, features of the Indian Constitution, the Doctrine of Separation of power, Federal and unitary structure, etc. that leads to the formation of Political structure. Further, we will learn about the practice of Constitutionalism, its tradition, and its types.

While the constitution defines the laws, constitutionalism is the actual enforcement of these laws. These together give birth to 'Constitutional Morality.

A. CONSTITUTION AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

3.2 WHAT IS A CONSTITUTION?

The constitution is a set of rules or laws of a country, generally drafted by the constituent assembly. It is the supreme law of the country that determines the rights of its citizens and the power as well as limits on the power of the government. Indian Constitution is the lengthiest written constitution of the world containing 448 articles in 25 parts and 12 schedules. It has been amended 104 times so far.

A Constitution allows coordination and assurance as it imparts legal structure to the society, and all are obliged to the same legal order avoiding discrepancies. Moreover, it also describes the constitution of the Government and its decision-making power in the society. However, if you give enormous power to the government it will act arbitrarily. Hence it sets a limit on the powers of the government to ensure that the citizens enjoy their rights. A just society is formed when citizens perform their duties and can enjoy their rights simultaneously.

A constitution is specific to a particular country i.e. no two constitutions are same, but they can be similar. For instance, the Indian Constitution is the lengthiest detailed written constitution whereas the American constitution contains only 7 articles and 27 amendments till date. Some constitutions also give prominence to the international agreements such as United Nation Declaration of Human Rights (1948), International agreements in case of Article 253 of the Indian Constitution. Some constitutions are codified (India, USA) while others are uncodified (Britain: common law). Some contain special provisions like preventive detention (India), Japan renounces war, etc. Indian Constitution is the longest written constitution whereas the shortest written constitution is of Monaco.

Constitution became an important criterion of comparing political entities as it is the benchmark of division of powers in a polity. Democratic constitutions try to create a level playing field by incorporating principles like 'Rule of Law', Federal structure, Separation of power, Checks and balances, Electoral processes, Constitutional posts, An Independent Judiciary, Fundamental Rights etc. About half of the world adopted the constitution between 1990 and 1995.

Rights under Indian Constitution
- Fundamental rights (Article 12 to 35)
- Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 36 to 51)
- The Union Government (Article 52 to 151)
- The State Government (Article 152 to 237)
- The Union Territories (Article 239 to 241)

- The Panchayats and the Municipalities (Article 243 to 243ZG)
- Union-State Relations (Article 245 to 255)
- Finance, Commerce, Trade etc. (Article 264 to 307)
- Elections (Article 324 to 329)
- Emergency Provisions (Article 352 to 360)

3.2.1 Separation of powers:

Montesquieu in his book "The Spirit of the Laws, 1948" emphasized upon 'Trias Politica' (Separation of Powers). It refers to the balance between Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of the polity through Separation to prevent the concentration of power and provides for checks and balances. The legislature is responsible for enacting laws and appropriating the budget for the functioning of polity. The executive is the supreme implementation authority, administrating public policies enacted by the legislative government. The judicial branch is responsible for interpreting the constitution as well as upholding its Supremacy of law by acting in accordance with laws apart from interpreting them. However, an absolute separation of power is neither practical nor advisable. These branches act as water tank compartments loosely connected to each other while maintaining accountability and transparency via checks and balances.

3.2.2 Federal and Unitary Structure of the government:

Federal government is a government in which the powers are divided between the National government and the Regional government, both operating in their respective jurisdiction independently. Usually in a federal model, Union or Central government is termed as 'Federal government' whereas the state or regional government is referred to as 'Provincial government'. In India there are three tiers of government that are National, State and Local Panchayats or Municipalities. Though federalism accommodates two polities under a single structure, its actual working is determined by the degree to which federalism is incorporated in a country's constitution. It gives rise to cooperation and mutual respect for good governance and common brotherhood. The features of Federalism are Dual polity, Written Constitution, Division of powers, Supremacy of the Constitution, An Independent judiciary etc. Federalism has scope for regional diversity thereby bringing intolerance and a feeling of common brotherhood preferably under a democratic structure.

In unitary government there is a single government vested with all the powers. This type of government may result in Authoritarian rule in which regional diversities are not recognized. It emphasizes uniformity for administrative convenience. Some Unitary features are Central Government's Supremacy, Single constitution, Indestructible states, Single Citizenship, Integrated Judiciary, All India Services, Integrated Audit Machinery, etc.

3.2.3 Indian Federalism:

Indian federalism is based on Canadian model. It is not a result of agreement between the states and States have no right to secede from the Federation like in the USA. It is an Indestructible Union of destructible states. KC Wheare described it as 'Quasi federalism'. Granville Austin called it 'Cooperative federalism'; Sir Ivor Jennings pointed towards a 'Strong Centralizing Policy', etc. A unitary bias can be seen in terms of domination of the Center government in financial powers, grants, all India services, appointment of governors, emergency provisions, etc.

3.3 CONSTITUTIONALISM

You must have read the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. It starts with "We the People"- What does that mean? It means that the Indian Constitution has derived its power from the people to constitute a polity and the extent of government authority. The Doctrine which states that the government authority is determined by or under legal mandate is constitutionalism. Though there is a lack of consensus on one clear definition, it is in a way synonymous with Limited government aiming to prevent arbitrary use of power by the government. It is dated back to John Locke's philosophy of legally Limited government.

"Constitutionalism is a set of rules or norms Creating, Structuring and Defining the limits of government or authority"- W Waluchow

The basis of constitutionalism is the principle of "Rule of Law" that requires every element of a polity to be governed by law equally. Our constitution as described by Kenneth Culp Davis ("Discretionary Justice") exercises control on government's power via - Confining, Structuring and Checking.

Constitutionalism may grant legitimacy to undemocratic authority too. So, it is crucial that the constitution brings clarity as well as specificity to the superior law of the nation to prevent misuse. Its usage is not limited to entailing limits on the government as it can't be self-limiting. Moreover, the scope of authority may be defined under a constitution but the constitution itself can be amended. Let's assume that A is an absolute sovereign who possesses unlimited power in his country X. He is not accountable to anyone and in exercise of his powers can announce a constitution valid or invalid. In this case even if he is following that constitution, there will be no constitutionalism advocated here.

Constitutions are meant to be long lasting and dynamic to impart continuity and stability of the law. A democratic political system is possible when the Framework is clearly incorporated under the doctrine of constitutionalism.

3.3.0 Classification of Constitutionalism:

The classification of the constitutions was first done by Aristotle based on the study of 158 constitutions of the ancient world. There are two main traditions of Constitutionalism-

3.3.1 Classical (neo-republican) tradition of constitutionalism:

Constitutionalism establishes political equality by means of balancing power among all the stakeholders of the polity. It ensures checks upon one another and thus eliminating arbitrariness.

- Structuring Democratic Processes
- Electoral system
- Type of polity: Presidential or Parliamentary, Unitary structure or Federal structure; Unicameralism or Bicameralism

3.3.2 Liberal Tradition of constitutionalism:

Liberal constitutionalism is inspired by the ideas of Western liberal thought. It imparts meaning to constitutionalism by taking individual needs and rights against arbitrary government. It caters to the need of changing political developments with globalization and internationalism.

- Theory of Limited government

- Separation of powers

- **Judicial review:** In India, the Supreme Court is the 'Guardian of the Constitution' and thus checks upon the legislations under the ambit of the law. Courts derive the power of the judicial review under Article 13 of the Indian Constitution to prevent arbitrariness. Moreover, the basic structure cannot be amended by the Legislature despite possessing Constitutional Amendment powers.

- **Fundamental rights:** These are some basic rights that must be protected against the state and are incorporated under the Indian Constitution. They are so crucial for the development of the individual that an individual can directly go to the High court (Article 226) or Supreme Court (Article 32) for their breach. Though there are some reasonable restrictions on these rights and are not guarded by amendment except the basic structure, these are Supreme rights given to an individual against the state.

3.3.3 Political Constitutionalism:

The Classification of political system as per the constitution dated back to Aristotle's inquiry into the best constitution in his book, "The Politics". He distinguished between 'Correct' and 'Deviant' constitutions via six possible constitutional forms. Kingship, Aristocracy and Polity emerged as the correct form of constitutionalism whereas Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy were categorized under the deviant form of constitution. His theory was based on 'Justice' which is both 'Universal' as well as 'Particular'.

This type of constitutionalism checks the arbitrariness of Government when it abuses power by acting in its discretion. In political constitutionalism, 'Political Institutions' and 'Electoral processes' bring constitutionalism under a defined procedural mechanism. It defines the structure of the democratic decision-making process; the type of political democracy (Presidential or Parliamentary); Form of government (Unitary or Federal); checks and balances through separation of powers, etc.

3.3.4 Legal Constitutionalism:
This type of constitutionalism checks governments' arbitration by means of interference with individual rights. This can be done by imposing legal constraints on the functioning of the government. In India the fundamental rights are granted to citizens against the state intervention and are protected by the judiciary under article 32 and 226. The primary responsibility of the Judiciary is to enforce these legal rights to maintain a balance between the organs of the government.

3.3.5 Summary:
In this chapter, you have studied that 'Constitution' and 'Constitutionalism' are interdependent. A great constitution would not guarantee constitutionalism and vice versa. They need to be rigorously followed simultaneously for a democratic political structure. While the constitution defines the laws, constitutionalism is the actual enforcement of these laws. 'Constitutional Morality' is the result of such enforcement. Further, political, and legal constitutionalism is a way to check government's exercise of powers arbitrarily and in discretion respectively.

3.3.6 Exercises:
1) Why the 'Constitution' is called the basic or supreme law of any state?

2) What are the salient features of Indian Federalism?

3) What do you understand about the term 'Constitutionalism'?

4) How can you distinguish between political and legal constitutionalism?

5) What is the importance of constitutionalism in modern democracy?

6) What do you understand about the concept of separation of power in maintaining checks and balances?

7) What are the benefits of the Federal system of government over the Unitary system?

8) What is the relevance of liberal tradition in constitutionalism?

9) Do all constitutions result in constitutionalism?

B. DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

3.4 DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

3.4.1 Introduction:

Democracy is the key feature or a benchmark of the modern political institutions. However, the democratic process was first practiced in ancient Greece around the 6th century BC. The word democracy is the combination of two Greek words - 'Demos' meaning 'people' and 'Kratos' meaning 'power or rule'. Hence, democracy in literary terms means power of the people which can be defined as the rule of the people. 'Cleisthenes' is credited with introducing reforms undermining the domination of the aristocracy and organizing citizens into 10 groups in 508 BC. Athenian democracy, unlike today, was a direct form of democracy. It was based on the direct participation of citizens in the deliberation leading to the decision making process. However, the concept of citizenship was narrowly defined during this period as women, slaves, and foreigners were not a part of it, bringing down the actual participation to only 10 to 20% of the total population.

Moreover, the age of Renaissance brought individuals into the center of politics and they began demanding various rights on account of their birth as humans. In Britain the desire for democratic control began with the industrial revolution of the middle 18th century. Revolutionary demands rose in France followed by American Revolution. Thereafter Russian Revolution of 1917 replaced the traditional monarchy with worlds 'First Communist State'.

3.4.2 What is a Democratic System?

A democratic system constitutes political institutions which makes the government directly responsible to the people. It is generally inclined towards freedom rights, individualism, tolerance, accountability, transparency, good governance etc. Electoral processes are the Bedrock of Democratic system constituting free and fair elections as a part of Indian Constitution. Moreover, pressure groups and interest groups also form a part of the system influencing the behavior of the citizens in political processes. A diverse and active civil society results in an informed citizenry and enhances quality participation in the decision-making process.

Democracy is not a static element as described by Lijphart distinguishing between 'majority' and 'pluralist' democracy. The majoritarianism is based on the Westminster model that you will learn in the British democratic system. The pluralistic democratic system is based on the American model on separation of powers.

Voting system is an integral element of establishing true democracy. A difference of opinion can be found among the public that is explained by

Arrows' Impossibility theorem. There are two types of choices a citizen can opt for- majority choice and preferred choice. Impossibility theorem is a social choice paradox that represents limitations of the ranked voting systems.

3.4.3 History of Democratic System:
Democracy first emerged in ancient Greece in 6th century BC which was what we know today as 'Direct Form of Democracy'. There was a regular public meeting in which laws made by the lawgivers were discussed and criticized by the public. However, the participation was limited, and women, slaves and foreigners were not allowed in this deliberative process.

The Roman Republic is also considered a democracy in which citizens have the right to vote. In this type of democracy, the Supreme Power was held by the elected representatives and the citizens and thus was a benchmark for modern democracy. Democracy is a system of government in which they exercise the power directly or through their representatives to govern themselves. The natives in North America also developed a democratic society from 1450 AD to 1600 AD.

The French Revolution which took place in 1789 against Monarchy to establish the democratic system but the women got their right to vote in 1944. New Zealand was the first country that granted Universal suffrage right in 1893. The first parliamentary system in the Middle East was established in Iran. There was a collapse of Monarchy in many nations after World War 1 which gave space to Democratic Republic to be established. It was after the Second World War that decolonization happened, and many third-world countries adopted a democratic system. However, the world was divided into two forces one is backed by democratic capitalism and another is backed by socialism.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was an expansion in the democratic system. However, several countries are not democratic in the real sense and are termed as a flawed democracy in the sense that people do not actually enjoy the rights that they must have under a democracy. The majority rule which is the Bedrock of democracy often results in the Tyranny of the majority. Let's discuss some democratic systems to understand their relevance in the modern era.

3.4.4 British Democratic System:
The British democratic system is popularly known as the Westminster Model. The mediaeval period was an era of rule by the nobility and the feudal lords. The Parliament of England passed the Magna Carta of 1215 to impose restrictions on the power of the king resulting in the creation of the first English parliament in 1265. It was based on the separation of power between the legislative executive and judicial branches of the government. This led to the formation of democracy in other parts of Europe and hence citizens began to realize their rights and duties under a

constitution as mentioned in the previous chapter. The case of proclamation in 1610 decided that the king by his proclamation or otherwise cannot change any part of a common-law or statute law of the customs of the running and that the king had no active but that which the law of the land allows him. The 'Petition of Rights' was passed by the Parliament of England in 1628 AD centered upon the illegality of taxes without parliamentary consent. The 'Bill of Rights' was passed in 1689 AD which curtailed some of the powers of the then Monarch. The abolition of the Slavery Act was passed in 1833 and the Black African was given the voting right for the very first time in Southern Africa in 1853. The United Kingdom granted the right to vote to women in 1918 and equal rights to men and women in 1928.

There is a constitutional monarchy in the UK that has a Monarch but the real power rests with the government and the parliament. The Queen is the head of the state and must give Royal assent to any bill that is passed by the parliament. She also has the power to approve appointments of the Prime Minister. The government is divided into three branches: executive, legislature and the judiciary. The Prime Minister and their cabinet form part of the executive branch which leads the government and proposes new legislation or laws. The legislature is made up of two houses of parliament: the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The primary function is to debate, accept or reject new legislation proposed by the executive. The house of commons comprises the members of parliament who are directly elected by the people. The house of Lords comprises the members appointed for Life by the queen on the advice of the Prime Minister. Their primary job is to scrutinize all the bills. The third branch of the government is the Judiciary which is comprised of the system of courts that implements the laws. The government is for the departure of divided into departments headed by a Minister.

Indian constitution adopted British or 'Westminster' model of Parliamentary Government as it brings stability and accountability to the governance.

3.4.5 The American Democratic system:
The American democratic system is primarily based on the Roman Republic rather than the Athenian direct democratic system. It is the result of the 'Age of Enlightenment' to which came into a realization that some human rights are needed to be protected against the interest of the state and for that purpose a democratically elected representative government is apt. The fifteenth amendment to the constitution prohibited voting rights discrimination based on race, color, or previous slavery in 1870. The women got their right to vote in 1920. Full US citizenship was granted to Native Americans earlier called American Indians in 1924. The American Revolution resulted in a change of government that was inclined towards individual freedoms with checks on abuse of power. The new constitution derived its power from the people with a clear distinction between three

separate branches of the government to ensure accountability via checks and balances.

Article 1 of the US Constitution defines the legislative branch constituting a hundred senators and the House of Representatives. Together it is known as the US Congress responsible for making laws, approving Federal judges and justices, passing the budget as well as declaring war. Each state must be represented by two senators.

Article 2 of the US constitution defines the executive branch headed by the President and the Vice President responsible for enforcing the law that the Congress passes. The President works closely with the group of Advisors known as the cabinet who assist him in decision making. The executive branch is also responsible for the appointment of government officials.

The third branch that is the judicial branch is defined under Article 3 of the US Constitution which comprises all the courts. The primary responsibility of this branch is to interpret laws and punish those who breach the law. The Supreme Court is tasked with the responsibility of settling disputes between the states. Unlike Indian Supreme Court these judges are appointed for life. Further, an informed citizenry is a boon for the democratic structure.

3.4.6 Theories of Democratic System:

A country's democratic structure is determined by the approach it follows as a political structure. There are various theories or approaches to democracy which outline the political behavior of actors in the international realm. They are:

1. Liberal Theory of Democracy
2. Elitist Theory of Democracy
3. Pluralist Theory of Democracy
4. Deliberative Theory of Democracy
5. Participatory Theory of Democracy

3.4.6.1 Liberal Theory of Democracy:

Liberal theory of democracy rests on the principles of 'Government by Consent'. It believes that the rational consent of the people can be obtained by way of persuasion or political participation which favors elections, political process under the ambit of law, Constitutionalism, Public accountability, etc. It works on the bedrock of majority rule simultaneously recognizing minority rights. Freedom of expressions is maintained through political institutions. John Locke and Thomas Jefferson are regarded as the torch bearer of liberal theory of Representation which ensures equality of all people with equal capacity to rule.

3.4.6.2 Elitist Theory of Democracy:

Originally developed as a theory of sociology to explain human behavior in social settings, it found its way in democratic process of representation. It is premised on the idea of social division based on 'Ruling' and 'Ruled'. Gaetano Mosca (The Ruling Class, 1896) and Robert Michels (Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy; 1911) propounded the division of Society. However, it was Vilfredo Pareto (The Mind and Society) who coined the term 'Elite' and 'Masses' to represent the superior and inferior groups in the society. Karl Mannheim (Ideology and Utopia: An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, 1929) argued that elites shape the democratic structure and entrusting them with such power does not necessarily point towards undemocratic rule. However, a balance is essential between the powers of both elite and masses to maintain the democratic structure which we achieve via 'Circulation of Elites'.

3.4.6.3 Pluralist Theory of Democracy:

A.F. Bentley (The Process of Government; 1908) and David Truman (The Governmental Process, 1951) pointed out that the great game is played by a variety of groups and these interactions between groups actually determine the true character of democracy. Pluralist democracy as a theory rests on the notion that various divergent groups or community can come together to cooperate so as to impart democratic structure in which they enjoy their rights. The government is the subject of public pressure and its primary function is to draft policies which should reflect the highest common group's notion of democracy. So, the society is pluralist and differentiated in character where political affairs are managed by these differentiated groups having different values, traditions, norms and methods of influence. Robert Dahl (A Preface to Democratic Theory, 1956) developed a model of the democratic process which he described as 'Polyarchy'.

3.4.6.4 Deliberative Theory of Democracy:

In general, a democratic rule must reflect upon the wishes and whims of the people's wills as they are a part of equal society which rule out arbitrariness. Taking cue of this, deliberative democracy is based on the process of deliberative decision making in political processes. It perceives democracy as a combination of consensus decision making and majority rule. Decisions should be based on reasonable debate and discussions among people which legitimizes democratic political process.

3.4.6.5 Participatory Theory of Democracy:

It gives the citizen the central role in decision-making through various means of political participation. There are various means of political participation namely voting, public discussion, referendum, initiative, recall, public hearing, advisory council, protest, etc. Primary importance is given to citizen centric participation as it a tool to ensure good governance, accountability, policy implementation, feedback mechanism, etc.

3.4.7 Waves of Democracy:

The process by which a political regime embraces democratic structure is termed as 'Democratization'. Samuel P Huntington (The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, 1991) identified three waves of democratization reflecting the positive transition to democracy.

In the First Wave (1826-1926), the transition was merely limited to the question of political equality, justice, expansion of suffrage rights primarily in the Western Europe and United State of America. This was the time when people realized that they had been exploited by their rulers and 'Renaissance Ideas' began to sparkle their minds desiring Equal rights, freedom, justice and participation in political process, etc. Taking a note of this many countries adopted democracy as their political structure. However, with the advent of the First World War and simultaneous collapse of various democracies resulted in the First Reverse Wave (1922-1942).

The end of the Second World War led to a series of events including the decolonization of countries marking the Second Wave (1943-1962). These newly independent countries showed their interest in democratic regime aftermath a period of colonial rule. This wave is marked by the spread of democratic structure as well as ideas in Latin America, Asia and Africa. However these political restructuring was followed by Second Reverse Wave (1958-1975) with 'Military Rule' and collapse of newly established democracies in Africa and Asia.

These transitions to military rule were challenged in 1974 by Portugal and marked the beginning of the Third Wave of Democracy. It was after the Disintegration of USSR that a multitude of countries adopted democratic outlook. It was followed by a world-wide expansion of democracies in Southern Europe, Latin America (Columbia, Costa Rica, Venezuela etc.), Eastern Europe, Asia, Asia-Pacific (Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan) and Africa. Democracy formed the bedrock of political structures in this era. It is argued that it was followed by 'Hybrid Regime' constituting elements of Democracy as well as Authoritarianism.

3.4.8 Arab Spring:

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region was exposed to the autocratic rule following the end of Cold War. A wave of Anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellion spread across the region as an answer to this undemocratic rule in the early 2010s.

It began with the 'Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia' against non-democratic regime and resulting poor standard of livings. Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation as a protest against mistreatment by officials spread like wildfire which the 'Tunisian Government' tried to end by violence. It was so influential that it resulted in the stepping down of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, who was forced to flee the country. Thereafter, Tunisians were tasked to form a new government as well as a Constitution marking the peaceful transition to democracy.

The overthrown of Ben Ali ignited the flame of protest towards a democratic regime. The classic illustration was 'Egypt's January 25 Revolution' which was directed against President Hosni Mubarak who was in power since 30 years. It was a result of military coup led by defense minister Abdel Fattah el-Sisi who remained in power till 2013.

In Yemen, the protest took roots in early 2011when President Ali Abdullah Saleh nearly lost support to sustain his government as a result of pro democracy protests with the support of influential leaders and military. The transition to democracy was achieved with the help of an Internationally Mediated Agreement with transferred power to Rabbuh Mansur Hadi. The transition was followed by a war in 2014.

Meanwhile in Libya, Muammar Qaddafi's regime was overthrow as a result of a violent civil unrest. An International Coalition led by NATO launched an airstrike campaign against Qaddafi's regime leading to refuge crisis.

In Southern Syria protesters called out the demand of Bashar al-Assad's resignation which resulted in their brutal suppression. Other countries joined the unrest with their own motives and the result is ongoing refugee crisis and breakdown.

3.4.9 Digital Democratic system:
The emergence of Covid-19 (Global Pandemic) was marked by loss of lives, health, economy, mutual trust, etc. However, it led to a new form of political engagement system with the help of digital media. A lot of international conferences and collaborations were organized virtually via digital media like G20 summit, NAM summit, India-Australia summit, SCO summit, BRICS summit, India-EU summit, etc. 2020 was the year of virtual summits or engagement amid pandemic. In India too, engagement between National, State and Regional level held via virtual medium and citizens were also given the opportunity to witness some highlights to ensure accountability. Further, citizens were given access to legal proceedings in courts via various platforms. Indeed an informed citizenry is crucial for the development of society and political system which is far more accessible in the age of digital governance.

3.4.10 Summary:
The democratic system in modern times is a tool of establishing individualism and public welfare through accountability and transparency in governance. Earlier more than half of the world was authoritarian but most of the nations adopted democracy as their political system till 2000. This transition to democracy was smooth in some countries whereas it took revolutions to establish a democratic system in others. However, Democracy became an agent of change and was given a legal mandate under various constitutions. Democracy, in general, is of the British or Westminster model or American model. Moreover, some states

established their own sense of democratic rule which is further in evolution due to this digitalized century.

The three waves of democracy have contributed in the transition of the world towards democratic outlook. However, there are various underpinnings in the way of establishing a democratic structure. The Aftermath of the Arab Spring saw the rise of terrorism, ISIS expansion and now Taliban's occupation of Afghanistan. The result is prolonged refugee crisis, human rights violations, civil unrest, violence, etc.

3.4.8 Exercises:

1. What is the reason behind the transition from Monarchy to democracy?
2. What is a democratic system? What are the characteristics of a democratic system?
3. What do you understand by the Westminster model of Governance? What are the characteristics of this model?
4. What are the salient features of the American Democratic system?
5. Why Digital Democracy is regarded as the future of political engagement?
6. What do you understand by the 'Elitist theory of Democracy'?
7. What is the importance of deliberations and participation in political processes?
8. How first wave of democracy is different from the Second wave?
9. What were the events which resulted in the Third Wave of Democracy?
10. Explain the importance of the Arab Spring.

C. NON-DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

3.5 NON-DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

3.5.1 Introduction:

Non-democratic system is a government run by those who are not elected by the citizens or are not representative of the true will of the public. They can be Authoritarian system, Totalitarian system, Nazism, Fascism, Patrimonialism, Bureaucratic Authorization, etc. In historical sense, democracy was either not in existence or needed to be gained through mass struggle. We discussed the transition to democracy in the previous chapter. However, democracy can be overthrown by violence or repression

by authoritarian forces giving rise to the non-democratic system. Further if the foundation of democracy i.e. the functioning of the political institutions is jeopardized then the democratic system can be thwarted.

3.5.2 What is a Non-Democratic System?:

Non-democratic system can be defined as those system which lacks accountability and transparency in governance. Further, they do not give primacy to individual rights and run their governance based on some propaganda, ideology, or personality cult. They usually do not welcome opposition and often suppress them devoicing citizens of their true representation in politics. In this type of system justice is usually a myth and is politicized. Institutions which comply to the respective regime can function under such environment. They often limit pluralism and all information is censored to avoid criticism.

Totalitarian governments often assume monopoly over mass communication and armed weaponry. Some of the popular examples of such rule are Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Nazi Germany, Stalin in Soviet Union, Mao Zedong in People's Republic of China, Castro in Cuba, Pol Pot in Cambodia, etc.

3.5.3 Authoritarian system of Government:

In an authoritarian government concentration of powers can be seen in the hands of a leader or a small group. It can be a result of the formation of nation state, the political culture of the nation, state or economic modernization, etc. Further authoritarian regime can be a personal regime, single party regime, military regime, or a bureaucratic regime. The most common form of rule throughout history is authoritarianism. Authoritarian rule can be based on historical culture, Monarchy, theocracy, dictatorship, military rule etc. Authoritarian rulers want 'Status Quo' that keeps themselves in power despite challenges like political mobilization by other parties.

Robert Kaplan in "The Coming Anarchy" pointed out- "Authoritarianism does not attempt to get rid of or to transform all other groups or classes in the state, it simply reduces them to subservience". Juan Linz defined authoritarianism as having limited political pluralism realized with constraints on legislature, political parties, and interest groups.

In an authoritarian state where a single head forms a government is known as 'Autocracy' whereas the government formed by a group of elites is known as 'Oligarchy'. They hold their office if they remain in power and often threaten to use power to devoid the citizenry of their rights. Interest of the ruler is above the interest of the public. They often abuse their power to enforce arbitrary rules and regulations. However, there are differences among the authoritarian regime on the extent to which they impose conformity, suppress freedom, use of violence, repression, etc. They are often corrupt and self-aggrandizing. Mexico under PRI, Marcos regime in Philippines, Rawlings in Ghana, etc, However, there are some

exceptions too who have actively promoted socio-economic developments and modernization like Turkey, Vietnam, etc.

3.5.4 Characteristics of Authoritarian Regime:

- Maintaining monopoly of power.

- Hereditary Succession, Use of Military force (threatened or actual) and popular elections are the sources of power in an authoritarian regime.

- Nexus between Institutions and Authoritarian Rulers.

- Suppress opposition by imposing press censorships, illegitimating the political party,

- They often seek to control the economy to rule out policies based on their interests. However, there are some authoritarian who tried to work for public interest risking their political holdings too like Josef Broz Tito of Yugoslavia and Anwar-al-Sadat of Egypt.

- Most authoritarian states are underdeveloped, and a clear distinction can be seen between rich and poor.

- Against 'Individualism' as submission to an authority is its foundation.

- Subservience and obedience are kept by punishing no conformity in a brutal or exemplary way.

3.5.5 Totalitarian system:

Totalitarian Regime is based on single party system. Soviet Union, Balkans, Cuba, Nazi Germany, and fascist Italy are some of the examples of totalitarian regime. It aims at legitimizing the authority of the political organization. It seeks to control every aspect of the public and political life and sees no limit on their authority. It can be distinguished from Authoritarianism as unlike authoritarianism it tends to control every institutions or powers outside the governmental rule too. It is more like an ideological authority that holds power and intrudes into the ideology of the masses. Political power, economy, religion, culture, ideology is under totalitarian control and we cannot count anything outside it. It is regarded as the extreme form of authoritarianism. They employ all-encompassing campaigns where their propaganda is broadcasted by state-controlled mass media. In extreme cases secret police, concentration camps, state terrorism, religious persecution, fraudulent elections, possession of weapons of mass destruction, state sponsored genocide also forms a part of totalitarian regime. Joseph Stalin (Soviet Union), Benito Mussolini (Italy), Adolf Hitler (Germany) is examples of totalitarian leaders. Moreover, Mao Zedong (China) led his country since the formation of People's Republic of China (1949) until his death in 1976 in line with the practices of totalitarian regime. North Korea is being ruled by the same family since 1948.

Characteristics of Totalitarian Regime:
- Extensive political and individual repression.
- Personality cultism and mass appeal via 'Ideology'.
- Complete lack of democracy and fraudulent elections.
- Absolute control over the state economy and public as well as the private life of the citizens.
- Limitations on individual rights.
- Press censorship or state control over mass media to propagate their campaigns.

Hannah Arendt in "The Origin of Totalitarianism" pointed out that the Nazism in Germany and the Communist regimes were different from the then authoritarian regime and resembled tyranny in modern version. She further argues that the source of mass appeal of the totalitarian regimes is their 'Ideology' which provides a clear-cut solution for the miseries of past, present and future. They all had their own way to appeal to the masses- For Nazis history was race struggle, it was class struggle for communists based on which they established their authority over state politics.

Friedrich and Brzezinski summarized totalitarianism into six characteristics- Elaborate guiding ideology; Single mass party typically led by a leader; system of terror through violence and secret police; monopoly on weapons; monopoly on the means of communication; central control on economy via state planning.

3.5.6 Nazism:
The Triple Entente (Britain, UK, and Russia) emerged victorious in the First World War (1914-18) against Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary). It concluded with the Treaty of Versailles was in which Italy was also invited along with the victor forces. It was a unilateral treaty with Germany which it was humiliated and was charged with the war clause to punish it apart from encircling its territory. Germany lost its prestige in the times of economic crises as it must pay heavy war indemnities to the victor states. Moreover, it was a time of Great depression and high inflations. People were not happy with the terms of treaty and their inhumane treatment by foreign powers. Weimar Republic was not very successful in handling of the crisis and there was uproar for a powerful leader which came into life as 'Adolf Hitler'.

Nazism was a totalitarian movement (National Socialism) in Germany aftermath First World War under Nazi Party headed by Adolf Hitler towards a dictatorial rule based on mass appeal and extreme nationalism. It is primarily focused on 'One Party, One Leader' Rule and citizens are painted antinational if they criticize any policies of the government. It is a political and economic doctrine practiced by Nazis in Germany from 1933 to 1945. There is no space for the opposition party as they are ruthlessly suppressed by the ruling regime. Government usually holds a strong grip

over every institutions, mass media, and political choices of the masses so as to promote the propaganda of the party via these agencies. They are anti-democratic, anti-peace, criticize individual rights and glorify war. Hitler favored 'Racial Superiority' considering him from Aryan race and was 'Anti-Semitic'. He considered Jews as well as democrats for the defeat of Germany. Thus, he is responsible for Jews' genocide and mass murder to punish them based on impure blood. As soon as Hitler assumes power in 1933, Jews minorities were purposely excluded from government offices, put into concentration camps (1941) and their homes were vandalized. Richard J Evans in his book "The Third Reich in Power" argues that the Nazi regime was using sterilization to crush those who did not conform to the Nazi ideals. They used military control to fulfill their agenda and thus became the reason for Second World War which came to a horrific end after the death of Hitler and bombarding of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Salient features of Nazi regime:
• Anti-democratic and totalitarian in nature.
• Based on Racial Supremacy and Personality cultism.
• Single Party, Single Leader control via military and state-controlled propaganda.
• A defined ideology with anti-democratic propaganda.
• Thwarted opposition and individual rights.
• Extreme form of 'Nationalism'.
• Glorification of 'War' and mass murder.

3.5.7 Fascism:
Fascism in general means a tendency towards a strong dictatorial control over state. It emphasizes extreme nationalism, Statism, chauvinism, corporatism, militarism, totalitarianism, etc. Unlike Nazism, it believes in the incorporation of all elements of the society into 'Organic State'. Therefore, State holds the supreme command in fascism rather than a leader or some personality cult that was practiced in Nazism. They hold no strong opinion about any specific race. It encourages the class system as well as the concept of social mobility.

Fascism refers to the political regime in Italy under Benito Mussolini after the First World War. It is widely understood as the vocation of far-right ideology whose objective is to hold unlimited state power using military or religion as their agents. It is ideologically different from totalitarianism as it does not hinder the working of non-state actors but is focused on the superiority of state in top-down decision-making which shows public acceptance. It is not a product of a weak state, but a strong developed state often resolved into a failed democracy.

People sometimes willingly abandon their rights to gain collective strength. Socio-economic or political crises, primacy of a particular class

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or group, victimization of one community, etc. often lead to fascism. It does not discourage corporatism but is inclines towards keeping the production under the control of the state. It acts as a force to guard the state from foreign dominance, keeping order in the society, elimination of pan ethnicity, etc.

3.5.8 The Geddes, Wright and Frantz (GWF) Autocratic Regimes Datasets:

Regime is defined as a set of formal and informal rules in choosing the leaders or policies giving primacy to identity of the group. An undemocratic regime can be one where leaders can be either chosen by direct elections or indirect one. No party can be restricted to run for an election. However, the election will be regarded as 'reasonably free and fair' when at least 10% population is eligible to vote.

However, the breakdown of autocratic regime result into three possibilities- the incumbent leader may be replaced by a democratic regime or replaced by someone from his group with another possibility of completely losing control resulting in replacement by another autocrat. GWF datasets proposed that an autocratic regime tends to break regardless of whether democratic transition takes place or not, which motivates autocrats to embrace democratic structure. These sets have practical implications with reference to the Arab Spring as discussed in the previous chapter. References can be drawn from Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's rule, Ben Ali of Tunisia, Libya under Qaddafi and Yemen under Saleh, etc.

The data set identifies 280 autocratic regimes (1946-2010) in independent countries. Each country-year is coded as:

1. Autocratic
2. Democratic
3. Not independent
4. Occupied by foreign troops
5. Ruled by a provisional government charged with overseeing a transition to democracy
6. Lacking a central government

3.5.9 The Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi and James Raymond Vreeland (CGV) Autocratic Regimes Datasets:

Democracy-Dictatorship (DD) forms the basis of this dataset which is a minimalist dichotomous measure of political regime. They introduced a six-fold regime classification covering 199 countries (1946-2008). They perceive political regime in terms of 'inner sanctums where real decisions are made and potential rivals are kept under close scrutiny'. They put forward three criterions to be satisfied for a regime to be democratic namely uncertainty, irreversibility and repeatability. These criterions can be fulfilled under a popularly elected legislature and chief executive. It is enough to have more than one party in elections.

A regime is classified as a democracy if it meets the requirements stipulated in all of the following four rules:

1. The chief executive must be chosen by popular election or by a body that was itself popularly elected.

2. The legislature must be popularly elected.

3. There must be more than one party competing in the elections.

4. An alternation in power under electoral rules identical to the ones that brought the incumbent to office must have taken place.

3.6 SUMMARY

Non-democratic system is regarded as a suppressor of individualism in modern politics. However, citizens sometimes surrender their rights willfully to achieve collective power due to various reasons. Non-democratic system does not necessarily mean under-development or no development as it all depends in its intensity. Some totalitarian systems are in negation of corporatism whereas Fascism favors both Statism and Corporatism. However, it is crucial to realize that with increasing awareness, it is important to grant freedom to citizens against repressing their rights. Order is necessary in any governance, but it should not cost freedom of individuals.

3.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by a non-democratic system of governance?

2. How can a non-democratic system be distinguished from a democratic system?

3. What do you mean by authoritarianism? What are its key characteristics?

4. What are the salient features of a totalitarian system of governance? Explain with relevant examples.

5. What led to the formation of Nazism? What was the ideology of Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler?

6. What is Fascism? What are its characteristics? Explain with illustrations.

7. What is the difference between Fascism and Nazism? What are their ideological differences?

8. How Fascism and Nazism are similar in ideology?

9. Why non- democratic system not regarded as a true representative system?

10. What is the difference between GWF and CGV Autocratic Regime datasets?

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4

POLITICAL PROCESS

Unit Structure

A. POLITICAL PARTY AND PRESSURE GROUPS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

A political party is a political group that aims to acquire power and realize policies with a platform that shows political ideas. Since modern society is complex and diverse, political parties play an important role in consolidating people's interests into concrete policies and managing politics in a policy-oriented manner. Since political parties were formed with the development of parliamentary politics, full-scale political parties appeared around the 18th and 19th centuries, but at that time it was an era of restricted elections and consisted of local influential people with "education and property". It did not go beyond the boundaries of the noble party to be held.

From the latter half of the 19th century, the movement to demand universal suffrage became widespread and mass-based parties with strict discipline and large organizations based on a popular foundation began to

appear in each country. As de-idealism progressed in the latter half of the 20th century and class conflicts became ambiguous, a comprehensive political party emerged that sought the support of various classes and social groups under the banner of "national political party."

A pressure group is an interest group that puts pressure on the government and political parties and tries to realize their special interests. It is essentially different from a political party in that it does not aim to gain power.

In the United States, where pressure groups are more active numerous groups such as agricultural groups, religious groups, environmental groups, and gun enthusiast groups are putting pressure on Congress and the government. People called lobbyists are acting on behalf of the organization and are required to register and report on their activities under the Federal Lobbying Control Act.

4.0.2 Political Party:

Political parties occupy a special place among the subjects of political activity, acting as intermediaries between citizens and the state. The classic definition of a party belongs to the French Political Scientist Roger Gerard Schwarzenberg According to him Parties unite the most active representatives of social groups with similar ideological and political views and striving for state power.

In Political Science, there has always been great attention to the problem of political parties. It has become especially close in recent decades. "Even a cursory glance at the bookshelves of the libraries of most modern political scientists or at the indexes of published articles in almost any professional journal," writes the American scholar A. King, "would convince many of us that one of the most important directions in modern political science is the study of political parties." At the same time, their role throughout the entire period of existence was inadequately assessed. Until the emergence of Parliamentary as a system of public administration, political parties saw the source of crises, a force that opposes the state and destroys its integrity. And it's not a coincidence.

4.0.3 Meaning and Nature:

In modern society, parties perform a number of specific internal and external functions. Internal functions relate to recruiting new members, ensuring party funding, establishing effective interaction between the leadership and local branches, etc.

External functions are decisive for party activities:

• Expression, defense and protection of the interests of large social groups and strata; integration of people within social groups on the basis of common goals, mobilization of the masses to solve important social problems;

- The development of ideology, the formation of public opinion, the dissemination of political culture;

- Creating opportunities for the political socialization of the individual;

- Training of personnel for political institutions, participation in the formation of the political elite;

- Organization of election campaigns and participation in them;

- Struggle for state power and participation in political governance.

The experience of political development shows that, despite pessimistic forecasts, parties remain the most effective mechanism for ensuring the connection between civil society and the state.

4.0.4 Classification of Political Parties:

Several typologies of political parties have been proposed:

- According to their **ideological orientation**, parties are distinguished as liberal, conservative, communist, etc.

- On a **territorial basis** - federal, regional, etc.

- On the **social basis** - workers, peasants, businessmen, etc.

- In relation to **social transformations** - radical and moderate, revolutionary and reformist, progressive and reactionary;

- On **participation in power** - ruling and opposition, legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary.

The most famous is the classification of parties according to their **organizational structure**, according to which cadre and mass parties are distinguished.

The cadre parties are focused on the participation of professional politicians, parliamentarians and are united around a group of leaders - a political committee. Such parties are usually small and elite, and receive funding from private sources. Their activity is intensified during the elections.

Mass parties are numerous, funded from membership fees. They are centralized organizations with statutory membership, they are organized and disciplined, and they carry out extensive advocacy work in the field, as they are interested in increasing the number of their members (and, consequently, the amount of membership fees). If the cadre parties strive to mobilize the elites, then the mass ones - to mobilize the broad masses of the people.

The group subjects of political activity also include mass movements, public organizations, pressure groups, etc.

According to the social criterion, class parties are distinguished, interclass parties, "grab everyone" by organizational structure and nature of membership:

- Personnel;
- Massive.

With clear and formally defined principles of membership and with free membership, with individual and collective membership, in relation to the place in the political system - legal, semi-legal and illegal, ruling and opposition, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, monopoly-state and avant-garde, etc.

By target and ideological attitudes, methods and forms of action-radical, liberal, conservative; communist, socialist and social democratic;
By the number of parliamentary seats - majoritarian parties, parties with a majoritarian vocation, dominant parties and minority parties;

Extra-Parliamentary parties consider the activity of representative bodies of power and the struggle for deputy mandates to be secondary. Their origin is associated with the development of mass movements and the expansion of the political participation of the working class.

Depending on the position in the political system, parties are divided into government and opposition parties. The winning government parties play a leading role in forming the government. Opposition parties represent the interests of the political minority. They focus on criticizing the ruling parties and their policies. In turn, the opposition is subdivided into systemic and non-systemic. Systemic opposition does not question existing basic values, political norms and procedures. She disagrees with the government party on tactical issues (the size of taxes, the nature of social norms, the degree of state regulation of the economy, etc.). Non-systemic the opposition denies the existing political order, the nature of the priorities of social development in general. Its purpose, as a rule, is to change the existing political system.

From the point of view of the nature of the organization, **Cadre and Mass Parties** are distinguished. **A Cadre Party** is a group of famous people created to prepare for elections, conduct election campaigns, and contact voters.

Firstly included popular and influential persons, whose prestige and connections are able to support the candidate and attract voters to his side. Secondly, experts, specialists in the field of election campaigns and political advertising

Thirdly, the hidden ones who provides funding for the political party

Mass Party is a well-organized association, the main features of which are: broad, active membership; a certain ideology; existence on the basis of membership fees. A party of this type assumes the responsibility of its parliamentary representatives to the voters for the decisions and policies they make. It is characterized by strict discipline, adherence to the charter and program by its adherents.

In accordance with ideological orientations, liberal, conservative, communist, socialist, fascist and other parties are distinguished.

In the last two or three decades, a type of political force has emerged that is unreasonably called a party. These are the so-called **Universal Parties (Parties of All Voters).** Unlike traditional parties that target specific electoral groups, they seek to win over different groups of voters. They are characterized by the following features: optional fixing of membership; a special type of intellectual leader playing the role of a worldview symbol; lack of clearly fixed social interests. The emergence of this type of parties is facilitated by the blurring of rigid boundaries between social functions and the consequent weakening of the party identity of the voters; the growth of the well-being of society; development of the media, allowing party leaders to address not individual groups, but all voters at once. Parties of this type are more connected with the state than with civil society, and their main function is not to articulate and aggregate the interests of society, but to protect the political course of a given government.

4.0.5 Functions of a Political Party:

1. Theoretical function:
- analysis of the state and theoretical assessment of the development prospects of society
- identifying the interests of different social groups in society;
- development of a strategy and tactics for the struggle for the renewal of society;

2. Ideological function:
- spreading among the masses and defending their worldview and moral values;
- promoting their goals and policies;
- attracting citizens to the side and into the ranks of the party;

3. Political function:
- power struggle;
- participation in domestic and foreign policy (development, formation, implementation);
- implementation of electoral programs

4. Organizational function:

- implementation of software installations and solutions;
- conducting election campaigns;
- Selection of candidates for elective positions, personnel for nomination to the government, central and local leadership.

The function of social representation as noted above, any political party is the exponent of certain social interests, relies in its activities on specific social strata and groups, and is their representative in the political arena. In this regard, it has as one of the central tasks from the whole variety of the most diverse interests of these groups (economic, ethnic, religious, etc.) to identify, form and substantiate their aggregate political interest, as well as to clearly articulate it in political power sphere.

The function of political socialization of citizens , i.e. their political education and training, the formation of properties and skills of participation in political and power processes, as well as influence on them with the help of certain conventional (constitutionally stipulated and legislatively enshrined) actions and procedures.

The function of social integration - due to the fact that any party in a democratically organized society can come to power only by gaining a majority in the elections, it necessarily seeks to unite the most diverse strata of the population around its program.

A pragmatic function associated not so much with the struggle for power, but, first of all, with its administration and retention. We are talking about the art of skillfully using and disposing of power in order to preserve it beyond the constitutional period of acquisition, i.e. not to lose in the new elections.

The function of reproduction and recruiting of the political elite for all levels of the system of organization of state power, Due to the fact that the change of the "power guard" in a democracy occurs only following the results of elections, the party claiming power should be ready to put its team in the power "chairs" in the event of a victory in these elections top leaders of the system of state leadership and administration of the country.

4.1 PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups are organizations of various types (entrepreneurial, trade union, religious, cultural, etc.)whose members, without claiming the highest political power in the system, try to influence it to ensure their specific interests. Pressure groups are trying to influence the political elite, rather than direct control. This is their difference from political parties. The influence of pressure groups is determined mainly by the number of their members, economic power, and the role they play in society as a whole. These groups, considering themselves outside of politics, often

have a greater influence on the political life of the country than political parties. There are cases when large transnational corporations or powerful trade unions forced the political elite to back down and make a decision in their favor.

The theory of A. Bentley and his approach to the study of public administration is based on the concept of "people's activities". In life, this activity is conditioned by the interests of people and is aimed at their realization. People achieve their goals not individually, but through groups in which they are united on the basis of common interests. Thus, the policy appears as the interaction of interest groups pursuing their own goals. These groups (that is, the social forces they represent) force the government to make decisions that are beneficial to them.

Pressure groups use a variety of methods. For example, they launch public campaigns to convince the ruling elite of the legitimacy of their demands, using the media for this. If these campaigns fail, they turn to threats to make the elite more "responsive" to their demands. If these measures also fail, the money can be used to "buy consent" and sabotage government actions, for example, by paralyzing production, obstructing certain critical services, or causing financial panic. In other words, the means by which pressure groups achieve their goals span a wide range - from persuasion to direct action.

The activities of pressure groups are public, but this does not mean that they conduct their operations in daylight. On the contrary, the leaders of these groups tend to prefer that public opinion be unaware of these operations. They have "proxies" in the state apparatus, in political parties, in parliaments, through their influence on government decisions. Leaders of pressure groups easily navigate the "higher spheres", maintaining relationships with people influential in various fields of activity.

4.1.1 Classification of Pressure Groups:
The political process in modern societies is increasingly becoming an interaction of rival groups, in which none of them absolutely prevails. This made it possible for the American political scientist R. Dahl to call the model of power in them not democracy, but Polyarchy.

R. Dahl conducted an empirical study in the city of New Haven in order to determine the place of interest groups in the mechanism of power. He presented his results in the work "Who rules? Democracy and Power in the American City"(1961), R. Dahl considered the main subjects of politics to be interest groups, which are an association of individuals with common values, requirements and goals. Among them, there are both relatively stable groups and groups prone to fluidity.

Classification of pressure groups as a political force, different from other forces, requires the definition of their characteristic features. Not every

group that influences power is a pressure group. It should have the following characteristics:

1) Formalization of the organizational structure (organization);

2) Protection of their own interests (i.e., the goals of pressure are its own goals);

3) Its existence as an autonomous decision-making center, and not as an instrument in the hands of another organization;

4) The provision of effective pressure by the group.

4.1.2 Types of Pressure Groups:

American political scientists G. Almond and D. Powell identified four types of interest groups according to the degree of their specialization and organization:

1) Spontaneous interest groups, including spontaneous, ephemeral and often violent interests (for example, interests revealed during riots, manifestations);

2) Non-associative interest groups that combine the interests of informal, non-permanent and non-violent groupings (formed, for example, on the basis of family ties, faith), characterized by a lack of continuity of existence and organization;

3) Institutional interest groups, that is, the interests of formal organizations (parties, assemblies, administration, army, church), endowed with other functions in addition to expressing interests (for example, a close-knit group of officers, the governing body of the party);

4) Associative groups of interests of voluntary and specializing in the expression of interests of organizations: trade unions, groups of business people or industrialists, ethnic or religious associations of citizens.

Consequently, the community of interests in some cases causes their irregular and transient manifestations, while in others it causes the formation of a real and strong organization, which specifically takes on the defense of common interests. In this way, stable, collective bonds are established instead of spontaneous and explosive actions. It is the associative interest groups that have such a degree of organization and specialization, which is characteristic of effective pressure groups.

B. PUBLIC OPINION AND MASS MEDIA

4.2 PUBLIC OPINION AND MASS MEDIA

Politicians are overwhelmed by the trends in public opinion, and public opinion sometimes changes politics significantly. Although public opinion is a key concept in democratic politics, its substance is uncertain.

4.2.1 Public Opinion:

Public opinion is a state of mass consciousness , which expresses the attitude (hidden or explicit) of various groups of people, called the public , to phenomena, events and facts of social reality that affect their needs and interests . In everyday use, the concept of "public opinion" most often implies the point of view of society on a particular socially significant issue. Public opinion research is carried out using the so-called sociological opinion polls.

Contrary to widespread beliefs, public opinion is not any public statement of certain members of the public (for example, political or public leaders), and even less a mechanical sum of many statements (individual opinions) recorded in public opinion polls, but an organic product of social life, a kind of collective judgment that arises in the process and as a result of complex social communication - public discussion. The emergence of this product presupposes the presence of many important conditions in society: a society that is aware of itself as a subject of social behavior; availability of free and accessible information to public groups on the subject of discussion; public interest in this information; the ability of community groups to articulate their position; finally,

The formation and development of public opinion occurs both purposefully - as a result of the impact of political organizations and social institutions and institutions on the consciousness of social groups, and spontaneously - under the direct influence of life circumstances, social experience and traditions. Signs of a particular public opinion include its prevalence and intensity. In contrast to the public mood, it is manifested more clearly and is characterized by relative stability. As an organic unity of rational, emotional and volitional elements, public opinion can manifest itself on three levels: as a spiritual attitude (through value judgments), as a spiritual-practical attitude (through emotional-volitional motives, aspirations, intentions and so on) and as a practical attitude (through mass actions and deeds). The strength of the authority and influence of public opinion is due to its reliance on the majority, which raises its social significance and practical effectiveness.

Public opinion operates in almost all spheres of society. At the same time, the boundaries of his judgments are well defined. As a rule, only those facts and events of reality that arouse public interests are distinguished by their significance and relevance act as the object of statements. In each specific case, the content and other characteristics of public opinion (the degree of its unanimity, the sign of statements, and so on) are determined by a number of factors - the socio-demographic structure of the community being expressed, the degree of coincidence of the needs and interests of its various groups, the nature of the issue under discussion, and so on. At the same time, the processes of formation and functioning of public opinion can proceed spontaneously, regardless of the activities of certain social institutions,

Public opinion operates both within the framework of society as a whole, and within the framework of various social groups and segments of the population. In this sense, one can speak not only about the public opinion of the entire country, but also about public opinion, for example, employees, workers, youth of a particular region, persons of one profession, employees of an enterprise, members of an organization, and so on.

In various democratic societies, the usual channels (and forms) of expression of public opinion are: elections to government bodies, the media, public meetings, rallies and others. Along with this, statements inspired by political, research and other interests and taking the form of referendums, mass discussions of any problems, expert meetings, sample polls of the population, and so on are also widespread. The activity of functioning and the actual importance of public opinion in the life of various societies is determined by the socio-political conditions existing in society - both general, associated with the class structure of society, and specific, associated with the level of development of democratic institutions and freedoms in society.

4.2.2 Mass Media:
Media which acts as a medium that conveys information to mass specifically; it refers to media such as newspapers, magazines, television, and radio.

The mass media plays the role of "mass communication" that conveys diverse information to an unspecified number of consumers, and is often referred to as the mass media by abbreviation. The mass media plays multiple roles such as news, commentary/enlightenment, education, entertainment, and advertising, and is also characterized by its great social influence.

4.2.3 Types of Mass Media:
Generally, mass media refers to four media: newspapers, magazines, television, and radio. Web media and the Internet related social media which continue to expand their influence to the extent that they are comparable to the mass media.

Explaining the features of the four major media

1. Newspaper:
Newspapers are periodicals such as daily and weekly that provide information of interest to the public, such as news, opinions, and special features. It is generally published on paper, but in recent years, electronic versions that can be subscribed to on smartphones and tablets and online distribution that can be read on the Web have become widespread.

2. Magazine:

A magazine is a periodical that bears a specific magazine name and publishes various articles. Weekly and monthly publications are the mainstream, but biweekly and quarterly publications are also available. Magazines are often sold at bookstores and convenience stores, but like the newspapers mentioned above, the form of selling them as electronic books on smartphones and tablets is also widespread.

3. TV:

Television is a technology that uses radio waves to transmit images to remote locations and reproduce the images on a receiver. Alternatively, it often refers to the equipment used for that purpose, especially television. The big difference from the other four major media is information can be conveyed by video and audio, and because it has a large number of viewers, the impact of broadcasting is great... It is highly breaking news, you can get information by video, and there is no viewing fee for commercial broadcasting. In addition, there are many programs closely related to the local area at local stations.

4. Radio:

Radio is audio broadcasting such as news reports and music sent from broadcasting stations using radio waves. Because information can be obtained in real time in voice format, Due to its characteristics, many listeners enjoy the program in parallel with work such as driving, studying, and cooking... One of the unique features of radio is that it allows two-way communication between the personality and the listener.

Media on the Internet can be broadly classified into two types:

- Web Media and Social Media
- Web media refers to websites that send out some information on the Internet, and specifically, news sites, curation sites, corporate sites, etc. are categorized. Social media refers to media that includes social elements such as information dissemination by individuals and connections between individuals. Specifically, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube etc.

4.2.4 Role of Mass Media:

Regarding the role of mass media, American scholar Wilbur Schramm, who is also called the father of communication studies, said, "Lookout Function" "Debate Function" "Teacher Function are three categories Mass Media.

First of all, the "Lookout Function" It is a role to convey information and issue warnings about the current situation and changes in the social environment. The mass media disseminates political and economic trends, which gives the public a sense of crisis and their own thoughts. It functions as a lookout by giving companies and organizations the awareness that they are being seen by the world.

Next is the "Discussion Function". It is the role of organizing opinions among members regarding the social environment and forming public opinion. In addition to the conventional four major media, it has become easier for individuals to express their opinions on the Web media and social media, which have become the fifth mass media in recent years, and the debate function of the media has become more active.

The final "Teacher Role" It is a role that connects values, social norms, knowledge, etc. to the next generation. In particular, newspapers are highly shared media and magazines are highly preserved media, and are mass media suitable for transmitting information to the next generation.

American scholar Harold Lasswell also categorizes each as "Environmental Surveillance", "Member Interaction" and "Generational Transmission of Social Heritage". The names of the roles are different, but the contents are the same as the above-mentioned "watch function", "discussion function", and "teacher function".

4.2.5 Impact of the Mass Media:

1. Impact on politics:
Citizens are informed by the mass media reporting and commenting on political facts and use it as a basis for making decisions on political topics. Its influence is great, and it is sometimes called the "fourth estate" along with legislation, judiciary, and administration.

2. Economic impact:
Information flowing from the mass media has a great impact on people's economic activities. The information about products and services that you see in the mass media may be advertisements placed by companies or may be exposures of the results of public relations activities.

3. Impact on culture:
As mentioned earlier, the mass media has a "teacher function," that is,the role of connecting values and knowledge to the next generation. On TV there are language learning programs, educational programs for children, and hobby programs. If it is a magazine, there are specialized magazines of various genres (newspapers are specialized newspapers), which influences the creation of cultural and cultural soil.

Furthermore, the mass media has great significance as entertainment. Specifically, there are movies and dramas, live sports, programs that provide entertainment information for enjoying leisure and leisure, and variety programs centered on talk and laughter. These entertainment contents are creating trends by establishing popular culture that people enjoy widely and establishing popularity with an object.

C. CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

4.3 CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Nowadays there is a lot of talk about "civil society". Its sphere covers the area of personal, private, every day and other interests of members of society, and structurally represents the sum of unions, associations, unions of interest. This includes the public organizations, political parties and various social movements. The key components of civil society are the right to organize, recruit members, speak publicly, assemble, solicit, and declare their interests.

Social movements are one of the main elements of the "third sector" of civil society. Sometimes uniting millions of people in its ranks, the movement allows, firstly, to formulate the interests that society aims to achieve, secondly, to promote its demands, and, finally, to "force" the authorities, if not fully follow these proclaimed interests, then take these requirements into account in their activities000.

Civil Society and Social movements in their development usually go through several stages. At the beginning, an initiative group appears, which promulgates the main goal of the movement, then the circle of activists expands and various organizations join the movement, for which the declared goal is acceptable. At this stage, it is possible to hold a general forum of the movement, where ideas and requirements are more clearly formulated. At the same time, coordinating bodies are often created, but nevertheless, the movement, unlike the party, dispenses with a formal internal hierarchy, systematic discipline, and a single structure. In the future, social and political activity can lead to the transformation of the movement into a social and political organization or to the fading of the movement due to the implementation of the original goal or the lack of prospects for its achievement.

This concept also denotes the entire set of public relations existing independently of the state and its organs: political, economic, cultural, national, religious, family and others, reflects the variety of private interests. The purpose of civil society is to protect the interests of each member of society, to represent his interests in the face of the authorities and society, public control over the activities of the authorities and the formation of domestic and foreign policies of this society.

Public associations are political parties, trade unions and other associations of citizens created on a voluntary basis to achieve common goals that do not contradict legislation. Public associations are non-profit organizations.

Social movements are non-state formations that unite people according to their interests and professions. Social movements and organizations differ

in many ways: in their goals, the functions they perform in relation to the interests of their members, as well as in relation to state power; at the place of business; by types and methods of activity; by the nature of the occurrence, by the way of organization, and so on. According to the criterion of the goal, there are social and political movements and organizations: revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, reformist and conservative, national-democratic, general democratic, ecological.

By the nature of their occurrence: spontaneous and deliberately organized; by the way of organization: clubs, associations, associations, unions, fronts; by social composition: youth, women, professional. All social movements and organizations are called upon to perform two main tasks:

a) The expression and implementation of group interests;

b) Ensuring the participation of members of a particular group or community in the management of public affairs and self-government Problems.

In difficult to difficult times, people saturated with ideological contradictions are first grouped into protest movements and organizations, then popular fronts , associations, mass movements begin to exist , moreover, within the systemic state, party, trade union and youth structures: independent trade union organizations, strike committees, various groups of deputies. In the future, there is integration of movements and organizations that have formed both outside and inside the political system. He reduced the problem of social and political practice to the problem of mutual understanding, the language of political power, parties, social groups, and so on. In his ideas, or in another way, concepts, there is a socio-political orientation.

There is a growth and strengthening of the role of social and political movements, which indicates the involvement of a huge number of people in politics. There are various options for the relationship of social political movements with parties, but independent social political movements do not enter into any relationship with parties. This happens when the participants in the movements, having a certain political interest, are at the same time not satisfied with the activities of the parties. The creation of some movements is initiated by a party or a bloc of parties in order to involve broad masses of non-party people in the struggle for the political task put forward.

4.4 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain the functions of Political Parties

2. Write on Meaning and Nature of Political Parties

3. Discuss the Types of Pressure Groups

4. Describe the Role of Mass Media in Political Process

5. Write a Note on Civil Society

6. Discuss the Influence of Social Movement on Society

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